THRESHING THE GRAIN: REVEALING THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF A LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY HOOSIER FARM WOMAN TO AN EARLY TWENTY FIRST CENTURY AUDIENCE

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DEDICATION

For Mary Brown, who did so much more and deserves nothing less. This is also dedicated to her great-granddaughter, Carol Hite Andersen (1934-2019), whose tireless devotion to preserving her family's history inspires me daily. Thank you for sharing Mary with the world and with me.

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This thesis examines the life of Mary Brown, a farmer's wife in mid to late nineteenth century Indiana, through a detailed look at primary source materials including the journals of her husband, letters, and occasional journal entries by herself and her daughters. Mary's story serves as a case study of the lived experiences of Indiana farm women. This research includes pertinent information regarding the farm tasks she took on both in the house and in the fields. Women did what they had to in order to assure the success of their household. This challenges and rejects the narrative of the homebound and devalued wife. In the case of the Browns, they operated as one unit, wholly committed to the success of the family and farm, not dictated by middle class or urban gender norms. Even in the face of illness, childbirth, and death, these women persevered.

Women farmers are an underappreciated historical player in the development of Indiana. The comparative paucity of established works which explore the role of Indiana farmer's wives' duties and value shows the need for in-depth research of what life really was like for women in rural Indiana. This lack of scholarship has led to the anonymity of generations of women in Indiana. Farm women were foundational to agricultural enterprises and deserve recognition. To make certain that Hoosier farm women did not remain forgotten, an exhibit was created and the story of Mary Brown was shared with

the public in a way that allowed new perspectives of the past to be cultivated. This thesis will also share the process and final product of the exhibit component.

Anita Morgan, Ph.D., Chair

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Where is Hoosier rural women's history?

Research Topic

In 1828, an Englishwoman named Frances Milton Trollope journeyed to the American wilderness. In the rural vastness of the Midwest, Mrs. Trollope visited a small Ohio farm to "observ[e] the mode of life of the county people." She wrote about a house on a hill, surrounded by a stream, with a garden and a shed for livestock. The two-bedroom house was described as "comfortably furnished with good beds, drawers, &c." The wife on the farm told Mrs. Trollope about a few of her duties which included: spinning and weaving all of the family's cotton and wool garments, knitting their stockings, manufacturing the soap and candles they used, and preparing sugar from the farm's sugar trees. The unnamed woman "seemed contented," though Mrs. Trollope noted that she did not look healthy as she had faced ague, now commonly known as malaria, a few months prior. She went on to write that "there was something awful and almost unnatural in their loneliness."[1]

To the west, an equally forlorn scene unfolded. Indiana was a decade behind Ohio, in terms of both inhabitants and development. Thousands of nameless women were settling in Indiana with their husbands on large expanses of land with no more than a fenced pasture for their animals and a bare-bones home in which to reside. The Schramm family emigrated from Bavaria in 1835 and established a farm in Sugar Creek Township, Hancock County, Indiana. Jacob Schramm wrote home to his brother-in-law in 1836 and painted a picture of the Indiana frontier that was both gripping and depressingly stark.

[1] Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 25.

> In the end there was nothing but such a terrible corduroy road, that we would have had soul and breathe shaken out of us if we had not traveled at a slow walk. The road took us through an endless virgin forest, with a light spot here and there that was mostly swamp. Then it would plunge into the darkness of the trees… One might consider the farms that showed here and there in the cleared spaces of the woods as birdcages. They were shut in by the forest and so dreary that one thought of them as wholly cut off from the outside world.[2]

Jacob's wife, Julie, might have agreed with Mrs. Trollope's farm woman that she was contented in her "endless wilderness" but the dark reality of issues like looming childbirth led to her being "worried about it a great deal in her loneliness." Women in Indiana were, at this point in time, a rarity. "There is such a lack of women here that they marry as soon as they arrive," stated Jacob.[3] A woman's presence on the farm was a necessity. This absolute was unchanged throughout the rural populace, regardless of immigration status or religion. As Indiana developed from being a lonely frontier to a more populated farming state, the needs of farmers remained the same—women were the cornerstone to a successful farming operation.

It is overwhelmingly clear that a homestead was not complete without a woman. In Shelby Township, Tippecanoe County, Indiana, there was not one unmarried male farmer listed as living alone in 1860. Single men lived with either their parents or with another married couple.[4] Men did not take on the enterprise of farming without a female counterpart. Crucial to grasping the foundational role that women played in the evolution of Indiana is understanding the day-to-day workload and expectations facing them. Though the study of rural history has gained traction in the past five decades, scholarship

[2] Emma Vonnegut, *The Schramm Letters* (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1935), 46.
[3] Ibid, 57, 62, and 63.
[4] 1860 Indiana Census, Shelby Township, Tippecanoe County, 609-639.

about Indiana women who lived in the late nineteenth century is almost nonexistent.[5] This project seeks to add a layer to the rich history of rural Indiana by studying the Brown family and its matriarch, Mary Brown. Through a close examination of Mary's life, a greater understanding of women's history is uncovered as she represents other unnamed women with similar experiences. With a name reflective of the sentiment behind the use of Jane Doe, Mary is the perfect commonplace character; she is the everywoman. History is not just economics, war, and famine. It is the timeline of the mundane and ordinary. Mary did nothing extraordinary, but her struggles and joys are recorded and thus are representative of what thousands of rural Indiana women may have also experienced. Most importantly, her story shows a partnership between herself and her husband that is far different from the patriarchy experienced in other parts of rural America at the time. Mary and others like her were not invisible counterparts and to say they were obscures their contributions. John Mack Faragher stated, "We have an even greater obligation to restore to their history the depth and complexity of the times that gave birth to the American Midwest."[6] Mary Brown adds depth and this is why her story must be told.

Scholarship

The predilection of Indiana historians has been to study the movers and shakers of the past, mainly men. It is understandable that their actions have been deemed important

[5] John Mack Faragher introduced the importance of pursuing what other historians might call "pots and pans" history in his article "History from the Inside-Out: Writing the History of Women in Rural America." *American Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (1981): 537-57. Serious scholarly works that studied the agricultural and rural history of women neglect to focus on Indiana in the late nineteenth century.

[6] John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986), xvii.

enough to record. However, historians have a responsibility to tell the full story. It is impossible and ill-considered to have any narrative, especially an agricultural history, which excludes the female narrative. It is these women who were responsible for the development and continuation of our state. The lack of scholarship on the subject of Indiana farm women before 1900 is simply reprehensible. The scarcity of secondary sources prompted Barbara Steinson to put out a call for scholarship in her *Indiana Magazine of History* article "Rural Life in Indiana, 1800-1950" where she declares that, "[a] review of historical scholarship, both the more traditional work and recent studies in the new rural history, however, reveals that Indiana is among the least studied states in the Midwest."[7] Steinson focuses on the potential work that could be done in illuminating the history of a state that has a strong rural past and that could provide interesting comparisons within the Midwest. This work, she states, must be done "through the accumulation of case studies" so that "state and regional syntheses can be developed and comparative studies undertaken."[8] These case studies could take many different forms and Steinson asks a multitude of questions relating to Indiana's historical changes in order to prompt these case studies. These questions range in subject from the switch to commercial agriculture from subsistence, transportation developments and their effects on farming, and decisions on farm machinery improvements, to the more social subjects of the role of kin and church in the community and how or if rural schools operated in conjunction with planting and harvesting.

[7] Barbara J. Steinson, "Rural Life in Indiana, 1800–1950," *Indiana Magazine of History* 90, no. 3 (1994), 204.
[8] Ibid., 209.

Steinson's final point, and for this thesis her most important one, is that any exploration of rural life in Indiana in the nineteenth century needs to include the variable of gender and explore how the theory of separate spheres is or is not applicable to the region.[9] This research will allow for conclusions which will do one of two things, according to Steinson. The research will either reflect the findings in John Mack Faragher's *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* that women were unequal and excluded. Or, it might more closely align with the conclusions drawn from the study of women in the Nanticoke Valley of New York done by Nancy Grey Osterud. In *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York*, Osterud is "explicit in challenging the patriarchal oppression and inequality of farm women" and comes to a more positive conclusion of the way women felt their work was valued at the same time Mary Brown was living, albeit in a different state.[10] Steinson's questions regarding the role of women in Indiana's rural history are vast and all deserving of further research. This thesis will answer many of these questions and will overall support Steinson's preliminary research which states the incredibly high and overlooked value of Hoosier women. Value, not only in their importance, but monetarily, in that it was the "products of women's labor, not the market crops, that were exchanged within the

[9] The phrase separate spheres is being used here as a way to define what is seen as the proper worlds in which men and women spend a majority of their time in. Separate spheres stress the difference in the work being done by women and men, allowing for very little interaction or commonality. This ideology stemmed from Alexis de Tocqueville's observations of the urban middle-class in his 1840 *Democracy in America.* These two distinct realms are presupposed by many to apply to all levels of socioeconomic status, including rural Americans. While this certainly allows for ease of trajectory in study, historians need to reassess the metaphor of separate spheres and its application to the working class. See Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, vol. 18, issue 2 (Summer 1966), 151-174 and Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History,* vol. 75, issue 1 (June 1988), 9-39.

[10] Steinson, "Rural Life in Indiana", 231.

neighborhood" and that "Hoosier women were active participants in the local economy and made significant contributions to their families' incomes."[11] While Steinson specifically referenced the early twentieth century, these economic statements hold true for the latter half of the nineteenth century as well.

It becomes then more necessary to examine closely the differences in the research done by Faragher and Osterud, as pointed out by Steinson, and to figure out which is more reflective of the experience of women in Indiana. Faragher's book is a true gem in its extensive use of primary sources to examine life in the Sugar Creek community. He expertly navigates the encroachment of white settlers onto the prairie which was originally inhabited by the Kickapoo Indians. He allows glimpses into each of these communities; one matriarchal and the other a society that kept women tied to hearth and home. Faragher paints a rather dismal portrait that white women (from 1830 until 1850) were exploited at home due to men keeping their wives (and presumably, their sons and daughters) in an effective state of subordination. This author's damning indictment states that husbands were the "beneficiaries of women's and children's labor." He draws the conclusion that the "farming household exploited women as wives," and that such exploitation "constituted a central dynamic of this system."[12] Nineteenth century women's role as homemaker is presented by Faragher as engaged in without pride, ownership, or identity aside from that which satisfied their husband's whims. One might imagine a generation of meek frontier women, joylessly performing their wifely and motherly duties, always in a state of obedience to or even fear of, first fathers and then husbands, who would callously exploit them every day of their lives.

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[11] Steinson, "Rural Life in Indiana", 233.
[12] John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 118

Though there was doubtless a great degree of patriarchal dominance in the mid-nineteenth century, this does not mean that every social and political gain by husbands and fathers came at the explicit expense of wives and mothers.[13] Instead, it is far likelier that homestead and frontier life was harsh and difficult for everyone, not just for women. Though Faragher's findings seem to imply that men led lives of leisure and political participation by exploiting their families, this seems unquestionably simplistic and betrays political intent informed by modern trends. However, Faragher never intended to write a comprehensive history of women in Sangamon County and this must be kept in mind. The quality of Faragher's work overall must be replicated where more primary source material can be utilized as to avoid extrapolating to a fault.[14] Taken at face value, a comparison would indicate that the women of Indiana were not the same women Faragher has described. Sweeping generalizations regarding farm women across America cannot be made. As shown by other scholarship, their work differed by region, religion, and economic status.

Osterud's *Bonds of Community* shows a more similar parallel between women farmers of New York and Indiana than those in Illinois.[15] Osterud provides evidence in the form of diaries, letters, church records, and census data to support her argument that

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[13] Legally, women were subservient and unequal. Indiana followed English common law which meant a woman's possessions became her husband's upon marriage. Hierarchical relationships were an unfortunate byproduct of the time. For more on legal framework of women's lives in Indiana see David J. Bodenhamer and Randall T. Shepard, eds, *History of Indiana Law* (Ohio University Press, 2006).

[14] John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek,* 210. "Few Sangamon settlers left us their impressions on the condition of farm women. But it is possible to extrapolate from available sources." Faragher should be applauded for his incredible use of divorce cases and prolific writers to describe the farm woman's life. However, it is important that the narrative be true and thorough which this thesis hopes to accomplish.

[15] Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth Century New York* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

women in the Nanticoke Valley of upstate New York during the second half of the nineteenth century refused to be exploited and undervalued. The women of this rural agricultural community were "dedicated to the creation of a common culture of reciprocity and respect among women and men."[16] This was done through the maintenance of a strong kinship system managed by women, joint responsibility of farm projects, and by holding an integral role in dairy operations that had strong impact on the farm economy and thus demanded respect. By "construct[ing] an alternative vision of gender relations based on their experience of kinship and labor," these women "contradicted the prescriptions of separate spheres" and "rejected the terms of the dominant ideology."[17] A fundamental feature throughout is the participation of women in income-producing farm labor. Though Osterud explores social and cultural norms/expectations of women at the time, it is also important that she is relaying that beyond any division of labor is the need to put the good of the farm first. In her chapter entitled "The Gender Division of Labor," Osterud shows the participation of women in gendered tasks as "women and men had a common interest in this most essential farm operation."[18] This "mutuality" the women so strived for negates the idea of separate spheres in Nanticoke Valley and shows that shared labor towards gender integration empowered the women. This analysis of study of gender relations is greatly helpful to this thesis particularly because of the nature of Mary and her daughters' work.

In order to more thoroughly understand women's perceived value and roles within the greater historical context, and facing the lack of scholarship Steinson so aptly called

[16] Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 276.
[17] Ibid., 277.
[18] Ibid., 150.

out, it was necessary to examine additional writings that either covered different states in the same time period or Indiana in an earlier or later time period. Susan Sessions Rugh's study of Fountain Green Township in Hancock County, Illinois in the years 1830-1880 is an interesting addition to Midwestern history. *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* shows Rugh's exploration of changing cultural identities, the expansion of the market, and the weakening of agrarian patriarchy in her quest to understand family farm culture. Though this community study is highlighting the struggle of rural American farmers with national market terms and corporations, it includes insightful research into the life of women in Illinois and changing gender norms. While 190 miles from Sugar Creek, these women seem to be in similar straits as Faragher's. The farmers' wife was subservient to her husband who had control over purchases as "men possessed the funds and the power to make decisions that affected her productivity and comfort."[19] Rugh's research stops short of making any strides towards a better understanding of the feminine experience in the middle states and she stays safe by maintaining the prescribed notion of the subservient female.

Barbara Handy-Marchello provides an altogether more thorough study in *Women of the Northern Plains: Gender and Settlement on the Homestead Frontier, 1870-1930*. Though Handy-Marchello's study pertains to North Dakota in a slightly later time period, there are overtly similar mindsets to farming families in mid-nineteenth century Indiana. While she concedes the similarities of the foundational experience for women on farms as "work, family, and community," Handy-Marchello drives home the fact that in North

[19] Susan Sessions Rugh, *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2001), 133.

Dakota "'partnership' might be a better descriptor than 'patriarchy.'"[20] The success of the northern plains is attributed to women's productivity in both agricultural endeavors and child-bearing. Heart-rending stories of strife prove over and over the essential role that wives and mothers played on the farm in order to be a partner. This partnership crossed over the threshold as the home and fields were not seen as two different entities, but as the common goal because of the "daunting and numerous tasks required to build a northern plains farm."[21] These women worked the fields during harvesting and planting while also juggling house and barnyard chores; this is a far cry from Faragher's noted trend that white women rarely worked the fields. This contrast in trends is stark and precisely why generalizations about the female experience are foolish to make when the differences between regions vary so drastically. Handy-Marchello's in-depth gender analysis of the North Dakota farm is very important to this work and the field as a whole.

Another book that reflects on the roles women in rural America during the early nineteenth century is Joan Jensen's *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women: 1750–1850.* Though this work does not argue against Faragher's notion, that a patriarchal structure was in place in these families and communities, it approaches the same historical period and phenomena with a far greater degree of nuance. In particular, evidence provided in Jensen's work shows that while women of this era in American history were certainly secondary to husbands, the domestic tasks they performed were of critical necessity to maintaining the home and community. Women were far from the mindless servants of the men in their lives. Instead, as their husbands engaged in the field

[20] Barbara Handy-Marchello, *Women of the Northern Plains: Gender and Settlement on the Homestead Frontier, 1870-1930* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2005), 4.
[21] Handy-Marchello, *Women of the Northern Plains*, 53.

and public, women performed different roles in three "spheres": the household, the marketplace, and the public spheres. These three sections of the book provide an analysis of women's work which postulates that by their fulfilment of these tasks, they are "loosening the bonds" which hold them "in a subordinate place in family and community."[22] Jensen's insight into butter production shows the centrality of women and how they were "tied to the emerging commercial capitalism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[23] The biggest issue with Jensen's work is that though it serves as an enlightening history of women in the Brandywine valley, its content does not support its assertion towards active feminism. It reads more as a series of idiosyncratic situations rather than a purposeful and deeply rooted surge away from subordination of women on farms.

Midwestern Women: Work, Community, and Leadership at the Crossroads is a collection of essays about the question of the distinctiveness of midwestern women. Repeatedly, the editors touch on the fact that "midwestern women have received less than their fair share of scholarly coverage."[24] Murphy and Venet stress the importance of considering the female experience and invite new layers of scholarship and research. The editors proceed to pull together twelve essays that explore the diverse female experience. Most of these revolve around the idea of isolation and how women were crucial in community building, but also because of a lesser amount of industrialization in the late nineteenth century, women in the Midwest worked at home at a much higher rate than

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[22] Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds : Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1986), xv.
[23] Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds,* 113.
[24] Lucy Eldersveld Murphy and Wendy Hamand Venet, eds., *Midwestern Women: Work Community, and Leadership at the Crossroads* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1997), x.

those on the east or west coasts. This book builds a list of diverse and interesting women who can contribute to our sense of midwestern identity: Native American women, nuns, reformers and suffragists, and Depression era farmwomen. However, there is already a relative wealth of resources about women on farms in the twentieth century; what is lacking is a nineteenth century feminine voice. This book brought to light the real idea of what histories are deemed important and most especially the consideration of how to assert the importance of farm women into the historical narrative.

Nancy Gabin echoes the lost histories sentiment of Murphy and Venet in the article "Fallow Yet Fertile: The Field of Indiana Women's History." Gabin boldly challenges historians by stating that "there exists no body of literature clearly identifiable as the history of women in Indiana."[25] Gabin's intention is to "examine the available scholarship and suggest further opportunities for research and writing."[26] She makes mention of what she calls the "most comprehensive historical study of Indiana women," *Women of Indiana* by Blanche Foster Boruff, a 1941 study of important women which not helpfully lists each of the inspiring females under their husband's names and focuses on the upper echelons of society.[27] Beyond Boruff, there is "much more we could and should know" and Gabin further pushes for research that "complicates, modernizes, and extends the narrative."[28] Eighteenth century Indiana was a multicultural world of Native Americans, traders, speculators, and farmers. Miami and Potawatomi women near the Wabash lack a written history. Pioneer Indiana women suffer from having "highly

[25] Nancy Gabin, "Fallow Yet Fertile: The Field of Indiana Women's History." *Indiana Magazine of History* 96, no. 3 (2000): 213.
[26] Gabin, "Fallow Yet Fertile", 215.
[27] Ibid., 214.
[28] Ibid., 216.

romanticized" and "fictionalized" literature written about their experience.[29] Antebellum women are simply overlooked; case and point, Donald Camony's survey of Indiana from 1816 to 1850 which "devotes a disappointing three of 632 pages to women."[30] The challenge of integrating women into the history of early Indiana is made easier when there is an abundance of sources, in such cases as female reformers and others who moved in the public sphere. It remains difficult to reveal the story of Indiana farm women with the relative lack of primary source material. Gabin writes, "The rural female experience in this century challenges the notion of separate spheres for women and men."[31] While she does not explicitly state that this was the same for the nineteenth century, it can be surmised. Gabin closes by asking for a "new framework for Indiana women's history" in order to "enrich and advance our understanding of women and gender and their place in the history of the state, the Midwest, and the nation."[32] Though this work is limited by the natural constraints of a master's thesis, it will attempt to enrich the reader's understanding of life in rural Indiana and add to the narrative of women's history.

Overview

This thesis plans to examine the life of Mary Brown, a farming woman in mid-nineteenth century Indiana. The following chapter contains a detailed look at primary source materials including the journals of her husband and letters and occasional journal entries by herself and family members. Mary's story serves as a case study of the lived experiences of an Indiana farm woman and includes pertinent information regarding her

[29] Gabin, "Fallow Yet Fertile", 220.
[30] Ibid., 221.
[31] Ibid., 243.
[32] Ibid., 248.

health and children, the farm tasks she took on both in the house and outdoors, marital strife she suffered, and details about her personality. Women were an essential component to the development of this state, but historically have been overlooked and undervalued. The comparative paucity of established and in-depth works which explore the role of Indiana farmer's wives' duties, responsibilities, and value shows the need for a closer examination at what life really was like for women in rural Indiana. By combing through the details of the sources, this chapter will make that clear.

Chapter three contains an overview of the exhibit building process. To make certain that Mary's story did not remain forgotten, collecting dust in attics and on the shelves of archives, it was brought to the public. David Glassberg's *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* presents the public's sense of history as "a perspective on the past at the core of who they are and the people and places they care about."[33] This idea of Americans' engagement with the past allowing them to locate themselves and their identity within their community resonated with me and pushed me to reveal a reality of which Indiana residents could be proud and one that was not very far from their personal recollections of growing up on a farm. By creating an experience via exhibit, conversation, and education, the story of one farm woman was shared with the public in a way that allowed new perspectives of the past to be cultivated.

The lack of scholarship that has led to the anonymity of generations of women in Indiana is being challenged and the narrative of the subservient and devalued homemaker is being rejected. Who were these nameless women who populated our state, established homes, and raised future generations? Who were the women who labored next to their

[33] David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 6.

husbands while threshing the grain? Who were these incredible people who failed to make the textbooks or lists of notable women? Were they not deserving or impactful? This thesis will take the first step towards validating their right to be remembered by adding a female name to the history of Indiana. She is Mary Brown.

Chapter Two: The Brown Family

> "Agriculture may justly be regarded as the great interest of our people. Four-fifths of our active population are employed in the cultivation of the soil, and the rapid expansion of our settlements over new territory is daily adding to the number of those engaged in that vocation."
>
> -President Millard Fillmore, December 2, 1851[34]

From President Fillmore's perspective, agriculture was indeed a noble endeavor in that it contributed greatly to the economy of the United States. In 1850, gross farm production totaled $1.4 billion, rising to $2.5 billion in 1870.[35] Mid-century Tippecanoe County was a thriving farm community that represented well the picture Fillmore painted. Within its borders lived 25,726 men and women of varied races and nationalities. Immigration numbers were led by the Germans. Tippecanoe contained 67 public schools. Although 1,549 of its adults were unable to read and write, 4,375 of its children attended school regularly. [36] The average length of a school term in post-Civil War Indiana was 68 days.[37] School terms and attendance were dependent on agricultural seasons. If it was time to plant or harvest, an all hands on deck mentality on the farm became priority over arithmetic lessons. Tippecanoe was the leading county in corn production in Indiana.[38]

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[34] Millard Fillmore, "Second Annual Message," *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29492 [accessed August 3, 2017].

[35] Marvin Towne and Wayne Rasmussen, "Farm Gross Product and Gross Investment in the Nineteenth Century," in *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. The Conference on Research in Income and Wealth (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 261.

[36] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 38-45.

[37] Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 476. Historian Emma Lou Thornbrough wrote that in the 1850s "census figures revealed the embarrassing fact that Indiana had the highest rate of illiteracy of any northern state" and that regardless of a free public school system that emerged after the Civil War, "the 1870 census showed that 7 ½ percent of the population could not read or write."

[38] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 371. It was later commented (pg. 560) that a visitor to Lafayette noted the city "does more business in proportion to its population than any place with which we are acquainted. The amount of the produce shipped and of the goods sold there, is immense."

Tippecanoe's proximity to the Wabash and the richest soil in the state meant heavy yields per acre. The evolution of farm machinery in the 1870s, including reapers, seed drills, and horse-drawn cultivators, meant a drastic reduction in the manual labor of farmers. This mechanization allowed for an increase in output that shifted rural society from majority subsistence living to a market-based economy. The railroad, a valuable tool of transport, became essential in moving goods to larger markets and a line was completed from Lafayette (Tippecanoe County's largest city) to Indianapolis in 1852 to support this.[39] Producing more than a million bushels of corn, 225,470 pounds of butter, and slaughtering 31,780 swine, the county was a successful seat of agricultural business.[40]

The continuation of this lifestyle in Indiana depended on both the men whose strength was a necessary component of field work and labor and also the women whose hard work extended beyond the household, into garden, barn, and field. Conditions for such work were often not ideal, yet in order to assure the productivity of their land, these women did what they had to do. The lives of the Browns exemplify the rural experience in Tippecanoe County, Indiana, and Mary demonstrates that women were a critical piece of the agricultural machine. Women's work was not limited to the home and garden; Indiana women were a part of what is commonly considered a male dominated realm. In the case of the Browns, they operated as one unit, wholly committed to the success of the family and farm with productivity being viewed as a whole sum, not strictly dictated by what modern scholars would call gender norms. Though primary responsibilities kept Lorenzo at work on the land and Mary caring for the children in the home, exceptions

[39] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 332.
[40] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 38-45.

could be seen often. The additional monetary income from her work speaks volumes, most especially the use of her products in non-cash trading for farm necessities. By examining the lives of these two people from their marriage in 1861 to their move away from farming in 1892, one can come to understand life at that time and how their marriage was a partnership, with Mary's work being a valuable asset to the family.

Introducing the Browns

Lorenzo Dow Brown built his life and career near the town of Montmorenci in Shelby Township, Tippecanoe County, Indiana. He was born on August 7, 1839, to Michael and Mary Brown who owned a 160-acre farm. Lorenzo lived with his mother, Mary Brown, after his father died in 1854. Lorenzo earned a teaching certificate from Leoni College in Michigan in 1856 and became a school teacher.[41] He loved to read—his favorites were Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Tennyson. Lorenzo moved back home and worked on his parent's farm before he finished his degree. In 1859, Lorenzo started recording short daily entries in journals. His journals from 1859 and 1860 described this time of bachelorhood as free from worry. He noted that his mother visited town often, leaving the house for multiple days to go quilting, and himself going to church services every Sunday. Lorenzo was very devoted to Christianity and was a member of the Wesleyan Methodist congregation. He frequently wrote about religious issues, not only in

[41] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 5, Folder 1, Undated letter. There are three processed manuscript collections associated with the Brown family, all of which are housed at the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis, Indiana. Lorenzo Brown's journals are kept in both manuscript boxes and bound volumes. This is collection M0789 or BV 3460-3468; collection titled Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals. Pictures, biographical information, letters, and notes from the family come from both collections M1253, Brown Family Collection and M1058, May Lily Brown Hite Diaries and Family Materials.

his journal, but in published articles.[42] He did not accept Christmas as a holiday, believing it to be an invention of the Pope and the Catholic Church. Another theme in the journals was Lorenzo's passion for inventions, some of which he patented though he never made much money from them. Among his inventions was a "wheel vehicle" that resisted tipping.[43]

In 1860, Lorenzo agreed to work for his neighbor, Rev. John Robinson, for four months. During this time Lorenzo lived in Robinson's home with his family, including his daughter Mary.[44] Lorenzo and Mary probably began courting before Lorenzo moved in with her family as his account book shows that he spent 40 cents on a New Year's present for her in 1858. While in residence with the Robinson family, Lorenzo and his three siblings met to "agree to divide the home place agreeably among [themselves]."[45] This gave Lorenzo forty acres to which he moved and began his homestead. Twenty-one year old Mary Elizabeth Robinson, married Lorenzo the following year on June 9. After his marriage to Mary in 1861, they had eight children, two of whom died at birth. The living children were John (1863-1933), Thaddeus Stevens (1866-1954), Mary June (1870-1898), May Lily (1874-1960), Elizabeth Rebecca (1877-1948), and Edith (1879-1962). Lorenzo's journal entries reflected many important factors of farm life, including

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[42] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Box 1, Folder 1. Lorenzo wrote many articles, some of which were published and the others kept by him and the family. Published articles appear in *American Wesleyan* (Syracuse, NY), *Wesleyan Advocate* (Marion, IN), *Wesleyan Herald, The Christian Cynosure, Good Tidings* (North Topeka, KS), and *Gospel Standard.* Writings ranged in topics from Pharaoh to theological points and the use of medicines by Christians.
[43] See Appendix A for Brown Family images including inventions.
[44] U.S. Bureau of the Census*, 1860 United States Federal Census, Population Schedule, Wabash, Tippecanoe, Indiana* (Washington, D.C.), 656.
[45] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Box 1, Folder 1. Lorenzo's father, Michael Brown, passed in 1854 and left 160 acres, which his sons continued to farm while living with their mother. Though estates took time to settle, it is unclear why the long delay for Michael's children to piecemeal the property. Lorenzo's mother remarried William Lacy in 1861 and died in 1863.

the weather, work completed, and products bought and sold. Lorenzo also described marital life and spoke often of his family and faith.[46]

Mary and marriage were key at this stage of Lorenzo's life—a woman to help with the farm work was a necessity for the success of subsistence living. The best way for Lorenzo to establish a homestead and have it flourish was to marry and have a helpmate. The children which resulted from that union would be additional help on the farm and would be expected to take over when their parents aged. This arrangement would have been no less necessary or desired by Mary. The options open to women at this time were limited and the best way for Mary to live a productive and successful life, in terms of both bearing children and farm labor, was to find a husband. According to Osterud in *Bonds of Community*, "The differences between the life courses of women and men did not create disjunctions between them but rather bound them together in gendered relationships."[47] Mary and Lorenzo entered into marriage knowing the great deal of work a farm required, and this mutual understanding led to a focus that allowed them to look past gender specific roles.

Mary Robinson was no stranger to the realities of life on a farmstead. One of five children, she had both farm and family experience enough to qualify her for the job of farm wife. She was born on March 21, 1839, to Reverend John and Rebecca Robinson of Tippecanoe County, Indiana. Mary's birth story was recounted in a 1955 letter written by her granddaughter, Ruth June Brown Johnston. She wrote, "Grandmother Mary Elizabeth Robinson was born while her mother and father were travelling from Virginia to Indiana. Her mother was taken ill in the night and her husband knew the baby was going to come,

[46] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Collection Guide.
[47] Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 89.

and this was the night the stars fell, and many people were frightened by this meteoric phenomena and thought the world was going to come to an end." It seemed that John Robinson had a very hard time convincing the town women to help birth the baby.[48]

We know that Mary had some form of education as she wrote many letters and had very clear, practiced penmanship. Mary's father was a local preacher in the Methodist Church and their home was a stop on the Underground Railroad.[49] She was religious, often attending additional sermons or temperance lectures throughout the week. One Wednesday she wrote, "We women folks went to Hebron Baptist church to hear Mr. Robertson preach he is a reformed cow boy."[50] Weekday church visits were not uncommon. Mary studied the Bible and Lorenzo proudly noted in his diary in January 1864 that she had just completed reading it in its entirety for the first time. Her letters indicate that she had an extensive garden and grew herbs and medicinal plants and helped when neighbors were ill. Because of this, she was well regarded by the people in her community who sought her advice or comfort during sickness.[51] Mary was a woman of small stature. Lorenzo described her as "weighing generally about 106 lbs" even after she had carried eight children. [52]

Mary's determined and independent spirit can be seen in the notes that she wrote in Lorenzo's journals. In one instance, after both parties agreed not to start a fight before bed so that they might enjoy their sleep, Mary added a postscript that she did "not agree to sign away [her] right to mention things that [her] common sense tells [her she] should

[48] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Box 2, Folder 10.
[49] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 4. A book published in 1915 contained a map of the route of the Underground Railroad through Indiana; the first stop north of Lafayette was the Robinson Farm.
[50] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 6, Folder 5, October 21, 1891.
[51] Ibid., Box 2, Folder 5.
[52] Ibid., Box 5, Folder 1.

mention."[53] Mary believed in the equality of men and women. Mary's egalitarian viewpoint was no doubt a result of her parents' teachings as their belief in equality is apparent from their participation in the assistance of those escaping slavery. This conviction of Mary's was in opposition to Lorenzo's, who held that it was biblically ordained for the husband to be the head of the household and rule over his family. Mary questioned this and it was often the reason for Lorenzo's lengthier journal entries. For example, this entry dated February 2, 1880:

> No family prayer this morning by reason of domestic contentions and about very trivial things but a woman must have her way and her say, to the last word. Women have the audacity to dispute with angels from heaven and it is therefore no wonder they will contend with their husbands. It was the woman that was commanded to be in silence and in subjection and her own husband, but my wife thinks the scriptures don't mean it, but that a woman had every right that a man has.[54]

Though clearly annoyed, there is a tone of acceptance in Lorenzo's writing. He believed he was right in an argument and tried to use the Bible to substantiate that, but Mary's stubbornness prevailed. Lorenzo mentioned numerous fights with Mary, but never called into question her abilities and held her in high regard as a partner and mother. "I think I have all good children, and that much of it is attributed to a good Mother of them," he wrote to his aunt.[55]

Mary's love for her children is most apparent in the letters she wrote to them when they were adults. Her words show that she was a loving, tender mother with the same worry and care for her children's spouses and their children that she had for her own. "Thirty nine years today since I first held you in my arms. My first baby that lived.

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[53] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789 , Box 6, Folder 1, March 6, 1887.
[54] Ibid., Box 4, Folder 6.
[55] Ibid., Box 5, Folder 1, Undated letter.

What a proud mother I was and as you grew older and could return our caresses and smiles we though there was never such a baby", she wrote to John on his thirty-ninth birthday.[56] In a later letter to John's wife Fannie, she excitedly responded to a letter announcing the birth of her first grandchild, Ruth June. "The sweet little darling, how I would love to see her. June must be a nice healthy baby weighing eleven pounds to start on. My baby Edith weighed eleven pounds and two ounces." She went on to encourage postpartum rest, writing "Your mother knows what she is doing when she is keeping you in bed. Much harm is often done in such a case by getting up to soon and especially standing or walking about."[57] When her eldest daughter, Mary June, contracted tuberculosis, Mary followed her to Asheville, North Carolina, on June 9, 1897, and nursed her until her death in February of the next year.

Mary and Lorenzo's relationship was one built on several commonalities: faith, a mutual longing for a better future for their children, and respect for each other's workload. They worked together without discrimination towards the type of task at hand in order for the farm to succeed. When Mary cooked the apple butter, Lorenzo sliced all the apples for her.[58] Mary went hunting.[59] When Mary was sick during or after her pregnancies, he hired help for her. In 1869, while Mary was pregnant with Mary June, Lorenzo did all the cleaning.[60] Many times Lorenzo stayed home and cared for sick or

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[56] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Box 1, Folder 17, Letter from May 2, 1902.
[57] Ibid., Letter from June 6, 1902.
[58] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 3.
[59] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 1, Folder 2. January 20, 1863, "Mary Em and I went to hunt a mink."
[60] Ibid., November 15, 1863, Lorenzo stayed home with baby John so Mary could go to hear a preacher.; November 17, 1866, "I helped Mary wash the window glass."; December 25, 1867, Stays home with children while Mary goes to a meeting; February 27, 1868, "Staid in the house nearly all day and took care of the baby while Mary washed."; April 9, 1869, "I finished tacking down the carpet and scrubbed the kitchen for Mary."

hurt children so Mary could enjoy church sermons at Little Pine Church or visits with family. When Lorenzo went to Virginia to visit his extended family, Mary took on the responsibilities of field work and the management of corresponding tasks like stacking hay, fixing fences, and hiring help for tasks that required more physical strength. Mary and Lorenzo's work was closely coordinated in an effort to make the most of their small farm's goods.

Life and Roles on the Farm

Life in Indiana in the 1860s was predominantly rural. Regardless of the fact that it had been a state for nearly 50 years, Indiana focused primarily on agriculture and was not yet developed/urbanized to the extent of Eastern states. Farm families lived in brick or post and beam wood frame houses that were isolated from the closest town, especially during the winter months. Indoor plumbing, electricity, and hot water were luxuries of the future. Outhouses were the norm. Neighborhood one room school houses were attended by children of all ages although field work often kept children at home. Church sermons were often attended and town was visited as means of escape from the monotony of farm life. Trips were made to the post office for news and the mercantile for supplies. Social visits to friends and family allowed for the trading of goods and gossip.[61]

Under this commonality, the Browns demonstrate that each farm household responded differently based on their personal relationships. Lorenzo's journal entries painted a clear picture of the activities both he and Mary engaged in on the farm. For Lorenzo, it was a heavy mix of what one would consider typical male farm work. For subsistence-oriented agricultural production, he planted crops, plowed, hauled corn,

[61] R. Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture: A Brief History* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1994), 213-217.

planted trees, milked cows, gathered nuts, shelled corn for bread, and butchered/castrated hogs. For home and farm maintenance, he split rails, chopped wood, and mowed/burned brush. To earn extra income, he rimmed wagon wheels for neighbors and fixed wagons with new axles. He often sold animal skins in town.[62]

There were numerous instances when Lorenzo sewed up wounds, pulled teeth (not only for Mary but also neighbors), mixed medicines that would induce vomiting, and provided other herbal remedies to his family. In January 1882, he administered smallpox vaccinations to his children. In a letter to his aunt Tabitha Rice (which he copied into his 1882 diary), Lorenzo explained that his mother was a great doctress in the county. Though she had no formal medical education, Mary Brown (née Denton) attended over 300 childbirths and doctored other serious ailments for people. According to him, she was much more successful in this venture than male physicians. After her death in 1863, he took over though he wrote that he tried to focus his doctoring on his family alone.[63] Lorenzo was also the disciplinarian of the family and noted that his rebukes towards the children were often accompanied by a litany of protests from Mary. When he "whipped the baby a little only," it followed that "Mary couldn't stand it." He rethought his own harshness in 1867 when he wrote, "I whipped John (too severe) for running through the mud & water."[64]

Lorenzo loved both Mary and his children, regardless of his strict parenting style. He wrote of staying up one night in order to make Mary a new dress on their sewing machine and his care for her when she was pregnant or ill shows a fond tenderness. In

[62] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789.
[63] Ibid., Box 5, Folder 1.
[64] Ibid., Box 3, Folder 7.

one journal entry he clearly professed, "I love my wife sincerely."[65] His children were his impetus to be successful in life and at farming. He often wrote of wanting them to attend college and his wish to move to a more lucrative geographic area where he could "do better for myself and wife and children" as he wanted additional land to farm.[66] Lorenzo took seriously his role as head of the household and worked hard to make sure the farm produced what was needed, his family remained healthy, and his children grew up to be good Christians.

Mary's labor was equally critical to the success of the Brown farm and family. While Lorenzo did not go into detail about her day-to-day activities, it is impossible not to notice the significance of her work through the years. Mary sewed and washed the family's clothes, cared for the children, made soap, cooked all the meals, baked pies, boiled apples for apple molasses, made hats, and knitted mittens. Her work extended to outside of the home. She planted crops, tended the garden, butchered hogs, made lard, milked the cows, and cared for the chickens.[67] Regardless of attitudes towards field work in other parts of the United States, Mary and other females in the Shelby Township community were regularly outside helping with both farm maintenance and agricultural production.[68] This is most apparent in the three months of 1891 where Lorenzo left

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[65] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 4, Folder 6, September 6, 1880.
[66] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 4, December 29, 1868.
[67] Ibid., Box 2, Folder 4, April 10, 1889.
[68] Handy-Marchello, *Women of the Northern Plains,* 58. Handy-Marchello details differing attitudes across the nation towards women and field work. Even though "Americans took pride in stating that white American women, unlike European farm women, did not have to work in the fields", the reality was that "they were just as willing to cross gender boundaries as were their European counterparts."

Indiana on a much anticipated trip to visit his extended family in Virginia.[69] Here, for the first time, we see Mary and her daughters as the primary authors of journal entries and get a glimpse into a female only farm. They described mowing loads of hay, rendering ten gallons of lard, plowing, selling their cows, feeding cattle, and loading corn into the crib. On Mary's birthday in 1891, one of the children wrote, "We girls spent entire afternoon fixing up sheds for horses and tending the stock and wood for tonight and tomorrow."[70] Mary and her girls (besides June who was teaching school at this time) also tended to their usual chores, went to church on Sundays, and the girls tried to go to school most days of the week. There were frequent visits to help sick neighbors cook or clean, to visit a friend in order to complete the sewing of dresses, to buy supplies from town, and to attend funerals. Mary also mentioned trimming bonnets, music lessons, and buying candy from the store.[71] It would have been impossible for Lorenzo to leave his farm for such an extended period of time if he did not have such a strong and capable partner.

It is important to look at Mary's income-producing work in addition to the labor that produced goods for family use. It is impossible to fully grasp the conception of the value of her labor in the home by Lorenzo or her children. By examining her contribution to the family's income, her value is monetized and thus made concrete. In Indiana, as in Osterud's Nanticoke Valley, "as long as mutual aid remained a primary resource for farm families and women remained important participants in commodity production, women's

[69] Lorenzo was interested in his mother's genealogy and wrote many letters to his maternal aunts in Virginia about the family. He planned this trip for years as it was often put off due to lack of funds.
[70] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 6, Folder 5.
[71] Ibid., Box 6, Folder 5.

views of work and the value of their labor could not be disregarded."[72] The trading of surplus goods (those left over after cash crops were sent to Lafayette and the family's immediate food needs were met) allowed the Browns access to foods they did not grow, labor they could not afford without depleting their bank account, and goods that improved their quality of life. These goods for trade were within Mary's purview.

Osterud notes that "women often performed the final processing, transforming the raw materials that were the result of men's labor into things their families could assume."[73] When Mary made bread for a neighbor who fixed their fence, she did so with the flour she made from grain Lorenzo produced. In this instance, both her and Lorenzo's labor helped pay for a need. Lorenzo recorded taking to town "500 cucumbers pickles at 8cts, 3 galls apple butter at 75cts, 25 doz eggs at 18 cts, and onion" and trading these goods for sugar and materials to fix buggy wheels. These are goods of Mary's labor just like when he later sold "6 lbs. butter @.30 = $180 & 17 lbs. lard @ .14 = $2.38 total $4.18" to his brother Wesley's store and then used that money to buy tea, coffee, rice, and maple sugar.[74] Women were so consequential to commodity production that it would have been impossible for their work to not have been recognized, regardless that their existence was still structured in some semblance of patriarchy.

In Sickness and In Health

Lorenzo's journals for 1861 and 1862 were lost. He did not serve in the Civil War.[75] Instead, he stayed home and worked on the farm while growing his family.

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[72] Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 225.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 2, Folder 1.
[75] In 1862, the Commissioner for Shelby Township, Edward F. Sheetz, created a list of all the males age 18-45 who were eligible but not yet serving. Lorenzo D. Brown is on this list along with his brother Simon. http://ingenweb.org/intippecanoe/1862Shelby.html

Lorenzo and Mary's first child, a boy, was born nine months after they married. The child passed away just one day after birth, on March 16, 1862. Fourteen months later, Mary once again gave birth to a boy. On May 2, 1863, Lorenzo stated that "Mary took sick at 3 ½ A.M. & was delivered of a male child at 5 ½ A.M. it weighs 9 lbs." This child, named John, was this first of Mary's to survive into adulthood. On October 9, 1865, almost two years after John's birth, Mary started feeling unwell. She had a fever and Lorenzo induced her to vomit. This is something Lorenzo wrote about doing quite often, as it was an accepted method for cleansing the body of the toxins presumed to be ailing a patient.[76] This seems to have backfired here, causing Mary to go into early labor. Lorenzo wrote, "The child was born at 1 1/4A.M. about 3 months we think before its time, it died at 2 ¾ A.M. It was a boy well formed… Mary has no fever now."[77]

In a four-year span, Mary had three pregnancies with only one child surviving. In the following 13 years she went on to have five more healthy children, though the pregnancies and postpartum period did not get easier. From age 22 to 39, Mary dealt with childbirth and a myriad of other health issues. It is unclear what ailments she suffered from specifically, but Lorenzo mentioned continuous problems through the years: "Mary has the rheumatism bad it seems,"[78] "Mary had a sinking chill,"[79] "Mary took a very hard chill the worst I ever saw it lasted 3 hours or more. I steamed her."[80] Mary most likely suffered from malaria, sometimes referred to as ague. This disease is generally marked by

[76] Katherine McDonell, *Medicine in Antebellum Indiana: Conflict, Conservatism, and Change.* Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1984.
[77] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 1, Folder 2.
[78] Ibid., January, 1865. This was treated with Wine Tincture of Colchicum which cost 25 cents at the time.
[79] Ibid., December 6, 1865.
[80] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 3, January 3, 1866.

fever, chills, nausea, vomiting, and muscle pain. Malaria attacks come in cycles, just as Lorenzo described. Joseph G. Cannon, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives and son of a country physician, was quoted in a 1929 public health report saying, "We had standard diseases and standard remedies on the Wabash. We had ague as a regular disease, and it was not difficult to diagnose. You could feel it and you could see it with the naked eye. Our standard remedies for ague were calomel, castor oil, and quinine."[81] The author of this report went on to substantiate that ague was a prevalent issue by stating that his family developed it every autumn. Malaria was thought to be caused by gases from the swamps and only decades later did link the disease to mosquitos.[82]

Mary also had extensive dental issues, leading to having two teeth pulled in 1866 alone. The first time it needed to be done, a Dr. Ogborn in town pulled the tooth for her. The next one, Lorenzo handled himself. He pulled two more for her in 1869. That same year she developed a lump in her throat that was yellow. Lorenzo then proceeded to open it up. This could have been something as minor as tonsil stones or as serious as a peritonsillar abscess.[83] The absence of antibiotics meant illnesses were treated with homeopathic remedies that were not always a curative. These issues were not specific to

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[81] M. A. Barber, "The History of Malaria in the United States," *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)* 44, no. 43 (1929), 2575-2587. doi:10.2307/4579430. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4579430.
[82] For more on public health and infectious disease in the nineteenth century, both William Franklin King's "One Hundred Years in Public Health in Indiana" and Emma Lou Thornbrough's *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (pages 663-669) discuss cholera outbreaks, malaria, typhoid, scarlet fever, and smallpox vaccinations. Public health measures were nonexistent and in fact, the first hospital to open in Tippecanoe County was St. Elizabeth's Hospital in 1876. According to Thornbrough, public opinion was long against hospitals as they were thought to bring disease in the vicinity of others.
[83] Matthew R. Klein, "Infections of the Oropharynx." *Emergency Medicine Clinics of North America* 37, no. 1 (2019): 69-80. doi:10.1016/j.emc.2018.09.002.

Mary. They were widespread and Lorenzo noted chills and the need to steam all his children at one point or another. Toothaches and pulled teeth were also common.

The worst of Mary's ailments always followed childbirth. In Shelby Township, the average number of children in farming families was 4 from 1850 to 1870.[84] Mary's experience with her second born son, Thaddeus Stevens, allows for terrifying insight of the rigors of maternal postpartum health in rural America. After Thaddeus was born in 1866, Mary was assaulted with pains, a chill, headache, and a cough. Twelve days after his birth, on December 22, Lorenzo stated that Mary could not even sit up. It was not until two full weeks after his birth that Mary could bring herself to dress the baby, who also was suffering from what was most likely jaundice as he was described as "very yellow."[85] This very closely mimics a case told in Judith Walzer Leavitt's "Under the Shadow of Maternity." A woman in the 1870s suffering from a prolapsed uterus following childbirth was "sick yet can only walk across the room and that overdoes her." This "falling of the womb" was noted by a physician to be quite common.[86] Postpartum depression could have contributed to her inability to care for the baby, though no such diagnosis existed at that time.

From this point until June 1867, Mary faced a slow decline. Continuously sick with chills and a fever, with only brief respites of normality, we can only guess at what type of postpartum infliction she dealt with. Lorenzo hired help to clean their house, and

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[84] Using the 1850, 1860, and 1870 U.S. Bureau of the Census Population Schedule from Shelby Township, Tippecanoe County, Indiana, I recorded the number of children for every family where the mother was over the age of 30 and the father a landowning farmer. I then averaged these numbers in an Excel spreadsheet.

[85] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 1, Folder 3, December 24, 1866.

[86] Judith Walzer Leavitt, "Under the Shadow of Maternity: American Women's Responses to Death and Debility Fears in Nineteenth-Century Childbirth," *Feminist Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986)138. doi:10.2307/3177988.

though Mary continued washing clothes, Lorenzo hired a woman named Em to help her do that, too. At the end of May, Lorenzo wrote that "Mary took violently sick with uterine inflammation and was intensely sick for about 3 hours."[87] Mary's baby was put in the care of a neighbor girl as she fought this unnamed sickness. This forced Mary to wean quickly, which would have left her in additional pain. Lorenzo gave her tonic bitters and remedies to make her vomit, but her inability to sleep for days, her weak body, and "troubled" mind were not to be fixed. She requested Lorenzo's stepfather, Methodist preacher William Lacey, to come and talk to her alone about religion. On June 7, Lorenzo wrote, "We got up at 2 o'clock last night and had a season of prayer as Mary could not sleep till then. May the Lord have mercy on us and keep us by your power. I did not do much work as I had to help Mary. She is in much trouble of mind and body."[88] The next day he continued, "This day I have been in great trouble of mind as Mary my dear wife is in a very critical state of mind and body. She thought she was dying and shouted praises to the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and professed faith in him and great peace of mind. But was soon in trouble and doubt again through infirmity of the flesh and temptations of the devil." He believed her to be "growing insane" and perhaps in an effort to cheer her, borrowed ten dollars (a large amount of money at the time) to buy her an accordion. [89]

Mary grew worse over the next week, with severe pain in her back, breast, and stomach. Dr. Weyburn stayed with the Browns to monitor Mary. At this point in his journal, Lorenzo commenced writing about his daily chores and inventions. Casually, two months later, he mentioned that Mary was visiting neighbors, then later that they went on

[87] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 1, Folder 3, December 24, 1866.
[88] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 3.
[89] Ibid.

a walk around the duck pond, and that she helped him clean buck wheat. There was no jubilation that his wife had survived or explanation of what had been wrong with her. This casual way with which life and death were regarded show a tenacity and practicality that modern people cannot understand. Part of a poem published in 1856 in "Indiana Farmer" reads:

> Lay the babe upon my bosom, let me feel her sweet warm breath,
> For a strange chill o'er me passes, and I know that it is death;
> I am passing through the waters, but a blessed light appears—
> Kneel beside me husband, dearest, let me kiss thy tears.[90]

It would be hard to imagine a similar poem doing well if published today; it would be regarded as depressing or morbid. However, it shows how intertwined life was with loss and how rural families understood the world around them.

Pregnancy, like all other aspects of farm life, was a process in which the whole family took part. Lorenzo did his best to help Mary while she was pregnant. Throughout he could be found doing some mending or washing or cooking. On April 23, 1869, he wrote, "Mary had the headache bad all night and today also. I helped about the house work got breakfast and dinner, scrubbed and ironed some. We both washed off in P.M."[91] After their second boy died, Lorenzo wrote about his care for her, "I washed and bathed Mary in warm water and gave her black cohosh tea, she got much better."[92] Mary's daughter May Lily Brown Hite wrote to her niece in the 1950s explaining the difficulties Mary had surrounding her own birth. She wrote that her mother was in a coma for days following her birth and that she was shocked she lived through it all.[93] In spite of the fear

[90] "The Dying Mother." Indiana Farmer, June 1, 1856.
[91] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 6, Folder 13.
[92] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 2.
[93] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Box 2, Folder 5.

that must have naturally accompanied these episodes, Mary and women like her garnered their strength and pushed through with sheer determination, knowing that without their efforts, their family and the farm would suffer.[94] Men supported this process and akin to couples in the Nanticoke Valley, "gender joined, rather than divided, the family at the moment of reproduction."[95]

For Richer or Poorer

In June 1870, the United States Census Bureau visited Tippecanoe County to record the agriculture production for the county. They went to Lorenzo Brown's farm and documented its output of goods and its value. Lorenzo had twenty-five acres of improved land and ten acres of unimproved woodlands. He owned two horses and two milk cows. His farm produced thirty bushels of wheat in the winter, 250 bushels of Indian corn, sixteen bushels of Irish potatoes, and fifty pounds of butter. This was a huge help for their income. Of the forty farmers listed in Lorenzo's vicinity, his farm was the smallest by a large margin. The average improved acreage was 161.95 in his township.[96] The Browns had acquired additional land and had 75 acres by 1878. This was just slightly below average for a farm, which in the 1880 census was 105 acres.[97] Their land was "rich" and they once "raised as high as 90 bushels of corn to the acre without any enriching of the soil."[98] Mary was integral to much of the planting and all of the butter production. She

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[94] Data on women's mortality rates in the rural United States has not been aggregated yet. Cheryl Elman and George Myers consider what might have affected women's health in the rural Midwest in their article "Geographic Morbidity Differentials in the Late Nineteenth-Century United States," *Demography* 36, no. 4 (1999), 429-443. High rates of hunger, general sickness, and impairment are reported.
[95] Osterud, *Bonds of Community,* 122.
[96] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1870*, Shelby Township, Tippecanoe County, Indiana; in-house microfilm; Indiana State Archives, Indianapolis, 7-8.
[97] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 369.
[98] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 5, Folder 1, Letter dated January 27, 1883.

frequently sold her eggs, apple butter, and pickled cucumbers.[99] A majority of the produce she gardened was sold in Lafayette. The majority of the food eaten by the family was tended to and prepared by Mary.

Unfortunately, Lorenzo was a farmer who dreamed of more without much business knowledge. His main occupational intent, which he called his "natural gift," was as an inventor.[100] He spent any extra time fixing neighbors' wagons and inventing new types of wagon axles and wheels in his workshop. He had a passion for items that would make farming easier. He explained this to his aunt in a letter writing, "I am on the farm but also fall on blacksmithing and wagon making and do all kinds of intricate work being an inventor of many improvements and have two of them patented about wagons but never made much money."[101]

In 1865, Lorenzo and his cousin, Otterbein Brown, invented the pivot axle to be used on wagons and carriages to overcome side jerking from rough roads. It was exhibited at the Illinois State Fair in Chicago, where they were offered $40,000 for the patent right. They refused the offer, demanding no less than $50,000 and so a young mechanic from the east ended up improving upon their inventive genius and reaping the reward. This poor financial decision would be felt for decades to come. Lorenzo wrote in his journal on February 9, 1881, of the wagon, saying "The patent on my wagon expires today. It has been a money loss to me instead of a gain. God only knows how much

[99] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 3, Folder 9. In one trip to town they sold 25 dozen eggs at 18 cents per dozen, 500 cucumber pickles at 8 cents per, and apple butter at 75 cents a jar.
[100] Ibid., Letter dated April 8, 1883.
[101] Ibid., Letter dated January 27, 1883. A more complete list of Lorenzo's inventions is included in the May Lily Brown Hite Diaries and Family Materials, Collection M1058, Box 4. There are twenty-nine listed that include contraptions like a sulky plow, ferrule hook, and wagon tongue supporter.

sorrow I have experienced in it all and why he had over ruled it against my worldly success."[102]

This was not the first of Lorenzo's financial issues, nor would it be the last. In February 1869, Charles Wallace sued him for being delinquent on a payment of $163.90. The payment and interest had not been paid in over a year.[103] Debt was a constant presence in his journals. He wrote to his aunt, Tabitha Rice, that he was "much in debt having lost [his] former home by a foreclosure of 2 mortgages."[104] Though he had paid his sister Sarah $900 towards the additional 40 acres he had acquired from her inheritance, she attempted to sell to another neighbor. He was eventually able to redeem the land, though it only put him deeper into debt. Mary often voiced her opinion of his financial mismanagement and verbally challenged his ability to provide for them. He wrote that "Mary [. . .] accused me severely of bad management and says it is not Providential that I do not thrive in business. I claimed it was Providential and I could not help it as I have not the means that is necessary towards accumulation and she does not see all my hindrances."[105] Another entry described their disagreement over his work on a new invention, "Mary and I had grievous words about me doing anything with my Car Brake i.e. after sunset we talked and she opposes me I think shamefully."[106] Perhaps Mary was tired of Lorenzo's inventing with no reward in sight. After years of financial difficulties in Montmorenci and numerous attempts to sell their farm, in 1892 the Brown

[102] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, BV3463.
[103] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Box 1, Folder 1.
[104] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 5, Folder 1.
[105] Ibid., Box 1, Folder 3, April 11, 1867.
[106] Lorenzo Dow Brown Journals, M0789, Box 1, Folder 3.

family finally found a buyer and moved to Elkhart, Indiana where they lived near two of their three surviving daughters until their deaths.

These journal entries document Mary's valuable contributions to the farm and paint a picture of how women experienced rural Indiana in the mid-nineteenth century. Their work in home, garden, field, and barn was critical for the success of the farmstead and they carried it out in spite of the difficulties of ill health and childbearing. Not only did Mary accomplish the domestic tasks that were traditional for a farmwoman, she was also heavily involved in the farm's agricultural production. Labor was only gendered to an extent. It was up to every member of the family to contribute wherever needed for the improvement of the farm. The life Mary led was not easy; she was, above all, resilient. Financial woes, poor health, and death plagued the Brown family but these issues were widespread at the time, especially in a time where capitalism led to a market based economy and smaller farms struggled to keep up. Women worked extremely hard for their families. The documentation we have of Mary's life allows us a glimpse of the struggles many nineteenth century Hoosier women faced. The saying goes, "Well behaved women seldom make history." Nothing is further from the truth. Women, well behaved or not, were essential in shaping Indiana's history and the success of our agricultural roots. It is time that the ones who labored hardest be recognized.

Chapter Three: Exhibiting the Farm Wife

The purpose of this exhibit was to present an engaging learning experience about nineteenth century farm women based around Mary Brown's life, work, and health. With a farming audience in mind, this was an opportunity to pay homage to the generations of hard working women who had come before them. David Glassberg argues in *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* that the public understands history within the context of what is familiar to them. Presenting the narrative of a farm woman's life was something that resonated greatly with the rural audience who saw in Mary Brown their grandmother, mother, and even themselves. In *Great Exhibits!: An Exhibit Planning and Construction Handbook for Small Museums*, Beth Hansen asks the exhibit planner to assess who the visitors of the exhibit will be and select a target audience as one "will be much more successful at pleasing some of the people all of the time than trying to please all of the people all of the time."[107] Thus, my target audience was rural adults. This demographic encompassed all socioeconomic levels and races. After conversations with Terri Gorney, Vice President of Friends of the Limberlost which supports the Limberlost Cabin State Historic Site, and Linda Rippy, Director of the Marshall County History Museum, I further understood that many school aged children would be seeing the exhibit as part of their school trips to the sites which made it necessary to at least consider all ages while still focusing on a target audience.

Wanting to present at different localities demanded the exhibit be a pop-up style, suitable for traveling. This trend is offered by institutions as large as the Smithsonian and is utilized by Indiana Historical Society and many of their pop-up exhibits can be found

[107] Beth Hansen, *Great Exhibits!: An Exhibit Planning and Construction Handbook for Small Museums* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 15.

throughout the state. Free for historical societies and museums, this resource is invaluable to smaller institutions who cannot fund new exhibits multiple times a year but would like a way to continually engage the public with new content. This "new form of temporary exhibition" is a unique opportunity for smaller museums, libraries, or parks to bring in visitors as they are "often well attended by consumers who learn about them through social media or word-of-mouth."[108] My guiding principles throughout the development process were shaped by the "Exhibition Policy" of the Harwood Museum of Art as laid out in *Museum Administration 2.0*. Of their nine principles, three resonated with me as standards of excellence I hoped to achieve.

The first guiding principle for my development of this exhibit was design. Harwood defines this principle as follows: "Each exhibition integrates high-quality exhibition design that is visually pleasing, that effectively communicates the exhibition's message, and that facilitates meaningful aesthetic experiences for all of the museum visitors."[109] With funding from a fellowship from The Society of Indiana Pioneers (whose motto is "To honor the memory and the work of the pioneers who opened Indiana to civilization") and the experience from a year-long internship in the Exhibits Department at Indiana Historical Society, I endeavored to create an exhibit that would fulfill all of these directives. I began to conceptualize what the exhibit would look like. There were restrictions. It needed to be easily movable since it would be going to different locations. Being lightweight for transportation purposes and also small enough to fit within a vehicle were a must. St. Mary's College Library housed an exhibit created

[108] Barry Lord and Maria Piacente, eds., *Manual of Museum Exhibitions* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 209.
[109] Hugh H. Genoways and Lynne M. Ireland, *Museum Administration 2.0* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 313.

by the Indiana Historical Society that was displayed on a three-sided tension fabric pop-up. Supported by PVC pipe, this design sparked the idea of something foldable. The desire for an interactive portion limited the use of fabric so a sturdier substitute was made—wood. This would be reminiscent of the side of a barn and hopefully invoke a rustic aesthetic. A picture of a farm's trade show exhibit prompted me to draw a four paneled exhibit with four pieces of plywood and having two boards connecting so they fold like a book. This would result in two separate pieces that could be set next to each other and stacked for easy transportation.[110]

Knowing the basic layout, the next step was content development. What aspects of Mary's life needed to be conveyed to the public? What was most important to them? The *Manual of Museum Exhibitions* states that "all text in an exhibition must serve a purpose and should derive from the core messages."[111] With a core message and word count limit in mind, I began to identify key points that needed to be communicated and write. I wanted the center to introduce Mary and the wings to place her into the historical context, instead of following a typical left to right trajectory. Correct headings would allow viewers to start anywhere without being confused. A timeline on one side would both list important events in Mary's life and look at key historical moments pertaining to women. This would keep the format from being too text heavy. I also needed to include passages from the diary entries that would show the type of work Mary was doing and shed some light on her personality. I included a contract Mary and Lorenzo had drawn up where she added a postscript in her typical fiery manner. Including her health issues was

[110] See Appendix B for step-by-step walkthrough of exhibit making process.
[111] Lord and Piacente, eds., *Manual of Museum Exhibitions*, 276.

another way I could engage the visitor in a way that was interesting and in a way in which they could connect to the subject matter.

An interactive section was necessary within the exhibit. I spoke at length with both Ed Rodley, Associate Director of Integrated Media at Peabody Essex Museum, and Emily Lytle-Painter, former Senior Digital Content Manager at Los Angeles County Museum, about guiding the visitor to a place where they would realize the glory of modern medicine and at the same time, come to appreciate the harshness of rural existence in the nineteenth century. At first we discussed the idea of something technologically advanced such as a *Buzzfeed* style historic health quiz. We envisioned a small health questionnaire complete with questions like: Have you ever broken a bone? Have you ever had food poisoning? Have you ever had emergency surgery? Have you had children? This would all culminate in a final results page of "In 1867, you would most likely be dead by now." With a deadline looming and a strict budget to consider, this idea fell to the wayside. It was replaced with a simpler idea that was still very intentional which was flaps on different parts of the body that would discuss common ailments, how they were treated, and how Mary was affected by these issues.

Armed with a Google Drive full of pictures, written content, and idea sketches, I hired Sarah Anderson, Senior Graphic Designer at Luci Creative and former Exhibit Designer at Indiana Historical Society, to produce graphics for the exhibit. She immediately began working on turning my ideas into a tangible project. There was much back and forth with edits on height and width of boards, colors, and layout. We worked within the confines of having the exhibit text no lower than 3 feet 5 inches and no higher than 5 feet 4 inches. "Many museums and galleries use 58 inches from the floor as their

standard eye level."[112] Overall aesthetic and quality was tantamount to a professional and accessible project. Once we got the text and graphics laid out, I brought in Angela Wolfgram, Director of Living History at the Alamo and former Exhibit Researcher at Indiana Historical Society, to do proofing. We decided the language had to be less academic and more easily understood. I wanted farm men and women along with children to be able to easily digest the material. After Wolfgram completed proofing, we moved forward with quotes for printing. Printing was completed by Repro Graphix and Signarama in Indianapolis. I had the photos and panels printed on 3mm PVC which is .18" thick with no mounting. Signarama printed the vinyl mask for the title. I arranged for pickup on the 22nd of March in order to allow for time to catch and fix any mistakes ahead of the exhibit opening on March 30.

At the same time as printing, I began the fabrication process. The first step was to purchase supplies. I bought 4 A-grade 4 x 8 feet plywood sheets to serve as the structural frame of the exhibit, screwed together with two door hinges on two panels allowing me to fold two boards together and move them around. I bought heavy duty Velcro with the intention of affixing the text and photo panels to the wood and then taking them off during transport to keep them in better shape. The boards were stained to give the boards a more rustic appearance and three different paints for the title, board edges, and background band were purchased. Also purchased were butt hinges, wood screws, and epoxy for the interactive health section.

[112] Hansen, *Great Exhibits!,* 71. "These standard heights and eye levels are from the U.S. Department of Health and the Americans with Disabilities Act. The head height of people in wheelchairs can vary by up to ten inches."

The scale of the exhibit called for the boards to be seven feet tall so each board was cut to be 3 x 7. I then used a router on the edges of each board to round them off which added a nice finished effect. Once stained, the 17 inch thick background band was painted. When the panels were picked up, they were attached with Velcro and nails. The vinyl mask was laid on and the title painted.

The most difficult part of the exhibit building was the health section. Because it had moving parts, it needed to be permanently attached to the board. It also needed to be able to hold up against the many people that would come in contact with the different sections. The body of the woman was screwed onto the plywood board. This provided a firm base on which to attach the lifting flaps. I used the cut off pieces of the plywood board to create 4 x 6 inch pieces that would be the lifted cover of the information. I used a router again for these and then sanded them down as I did not want anyone suffering abrasions or splinters from the wood. The small panels I attached to these boards with a quick-setting epoxy. Once dried, I painted the edge of the boards to match the background. I then used small butt hinges to attach them to the woman. After this step, the exhibit was completed.

The second guiding principle from Harwood's "Exhibition Policy" that I followed was education. Harwood explains further, "A strong interpretive element is integrated into the design of all exhibitions. Whenever possible, interpretive elements are interactive and/or multi-sensory. Educational programs aligned with the exhibition's target audience(s) are presented in conjunction with exhibitions."[113] This goes hand in hand with the third principle, community engagement. Community engagement goes a step

[113] Genoways and Ireland, *Museum Administration 2.0*, 313.

further than education by encouraging the development of the exhibit and programs in collaboration with partners. When premiering this exhibit at the Marshall County History Museum on March 30, 2019, a lecture for members was held during a catered dinner the night before. At Limberlost, the exhibit showing was paired with a reading by Indiana Poet Laureate, Shari Wagner. At both locations, I was on-site during open hours to facilitate interactions between the visitors and the exhibit. This was done living history style, dressed in historically accurate clothing from the 1850s and 60s. In doing so, I was able to answer questions that visitors had and hear how the exhibit affected them. When considering what I wanted the visitor to learn, I kept in mind John Summer's list of "Twenty Ways to Make a Good Exhibit," but most especially number 17: "Tread lightly with goals, objectives, and learning outcomes. Visitors are not nails, and the exhibit is not a hammer."[114]

The goal was that by being present, I could hear from the people and experience what Michael Frisch termed "shared authority." I wanted to empower their memories of family and community history. Frisch stated the importance of "returning to particular communities or generating from within them the authority to explore and interpret their own experience, experience traditionally invisible in formal history because of predictable assumptions about who and what matters, interpretations more actively ignored or resisted by academic scholarship."[115] Many visitors provided these unique and exciting perspectives as they were able to remember their own mothers pushing a plow and sowing seeds, operating farm machinery, and other tasks outside of the house. They

[114] John Summers, *Creating Exhibits that Engage* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 10.
[115] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (State University of New York Press, 1990), xxi.

shared many stories that closely resembled Mary's. Their connection to her life made Glassberg's study of how Americans engage with history ring true. The highest praise that endorsed the success of this educational venture was from an Ivy Tech Community College student who let me know Mary was cool in spite of her life being "wack".

When the exhibit and accompanying lecture were announced to members of the Marshall County Historical Museum, Mary Brown was introduced as follows:

> She has never been called extraordinary. There are no streets or monuments bearing her name in honor. No songs have been written in anthem to her struggle. No history books tell her story; even her hometown has forgotten her. She never sought fame or glory, yet she existed. The female farmer, under whose worn hands this state bloomed, has been sorely ignored. Until now…

For more than one-hundred-years, a history has been overlooked. This history is foundational to all Hoosiers. Through this exhibit it is hoped that the importance of farm women in Indiana will not be forgotten. In the end, the exhibit was donated to Tippecanoe County Historical Association, the county where Mary Brown hailed from. They graciously accepted it and will display it during Women's History Month and also plan to take it to area schools.

Appendix A

Portrait of Lorenzo Dow and Mary Brown holding one of the children [116]

[116] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Photograph Box 1, Folder 11.

1866 Map of Tippecanoe County, Indiana with Lorenzo Dow Brown's acreage highlighted[117]

[117] Warner, A. *Map of Tippecanoe Co., Indiana*. Philadelphia: C.O. Titus, 1866. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2013593166/. (Accessed November 1, 2017.)

Portrait of Mary Elizabeth Robinson at 19-years-old (circa 1858)[118]

[118] Brown Family Collection, M1253, Photograph Box 1, Folder 2.

L. D. BROWN.
WHEEL VEHICLE.

No. 41,476. Patented Feb. 9, 1864.

Fig. 1.

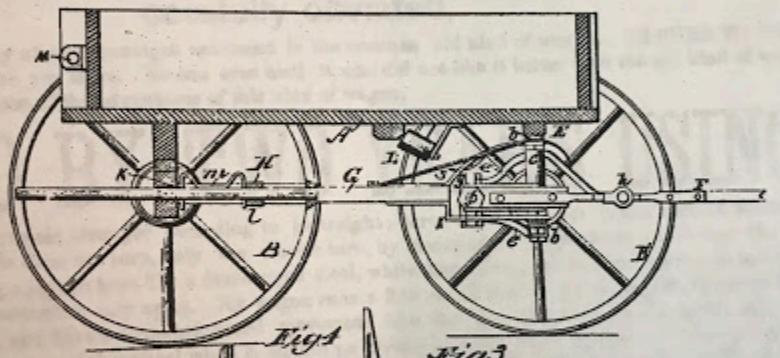


Fig. 2.

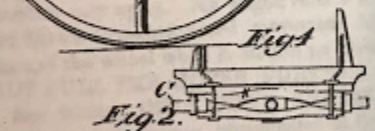
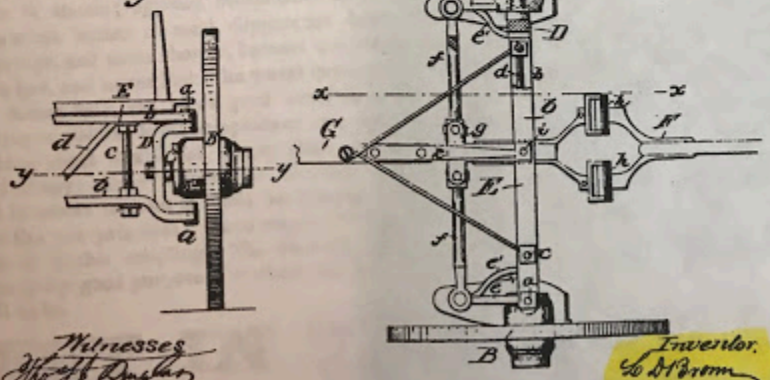


Fig. 3.



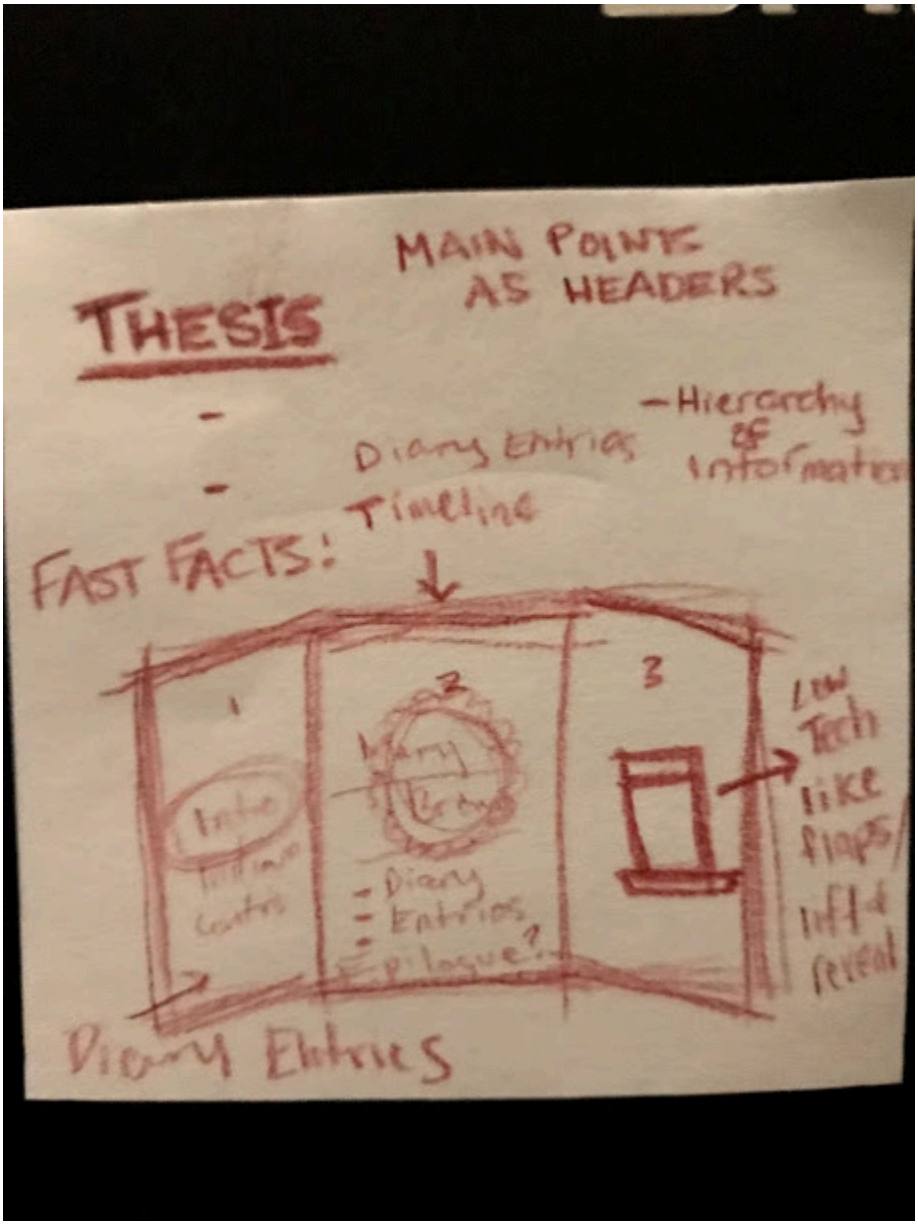
Witnesses
Thos. H. Dunlap
Geo. W. Reed

Inventor.
L. D. Brown
per Munn & Co
Attorneys

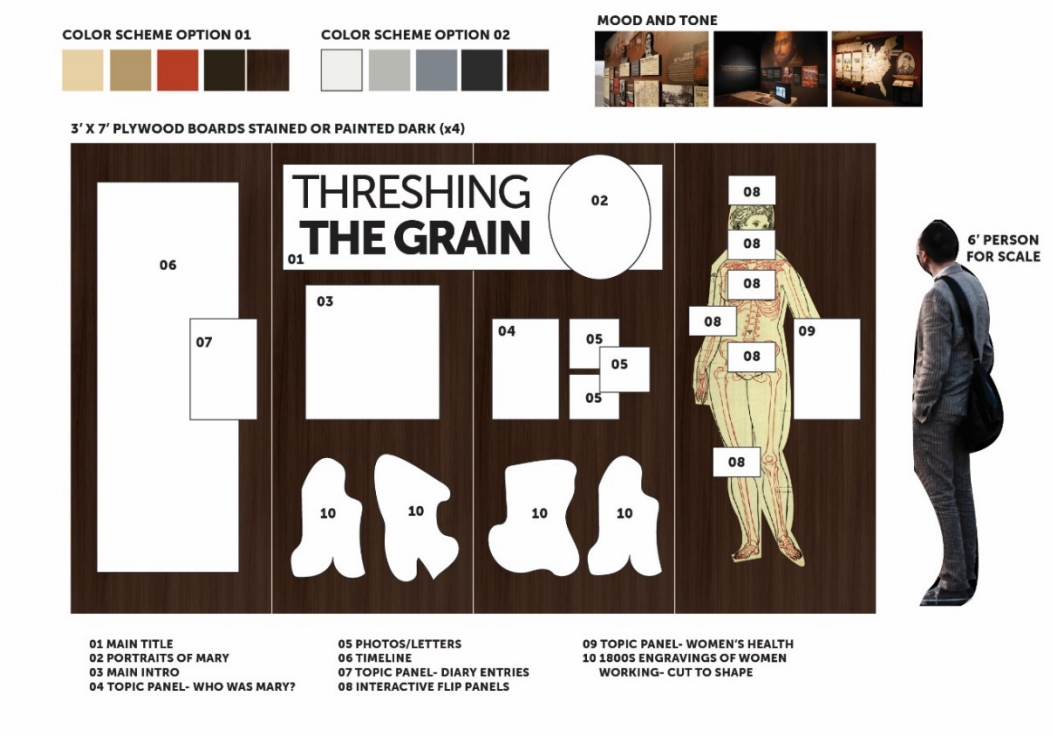
Above farm wagon shows both of Lorenzo Dow Brown's patents: 1. Wheel Vehicle, Patent Number 41,476 2. Wagon-tongue Support, Patent Number 201,323.[119]

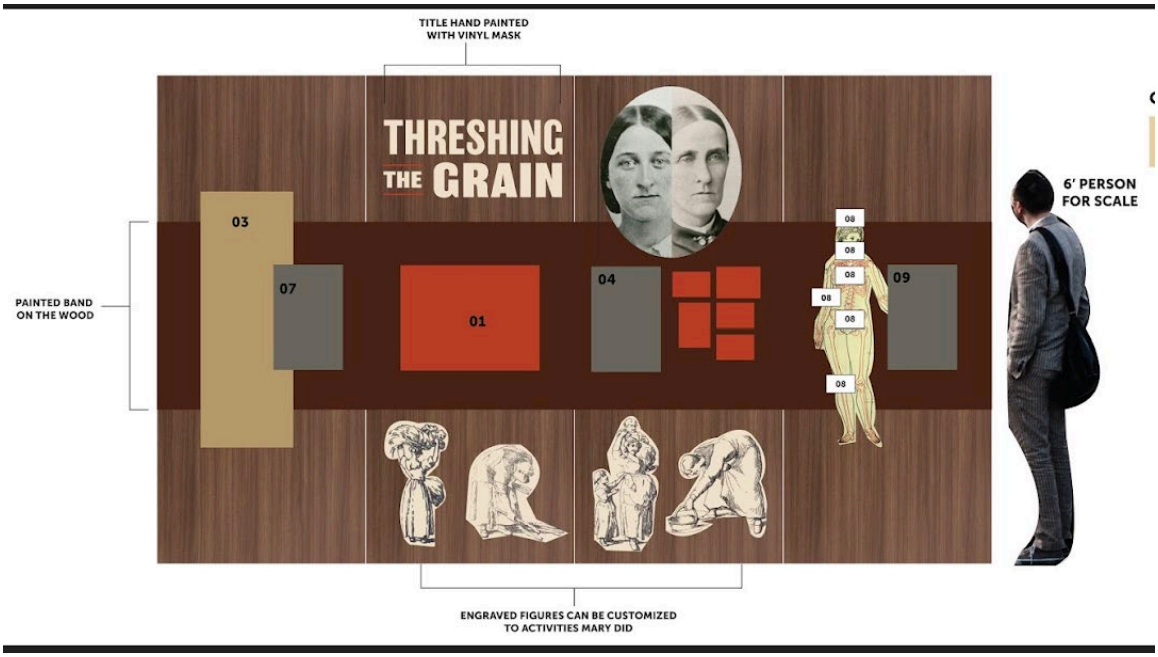
[119] May Lily Brown Hite Diaries and Family Materials, M1058, Photograph Folder 2.

Appendix B

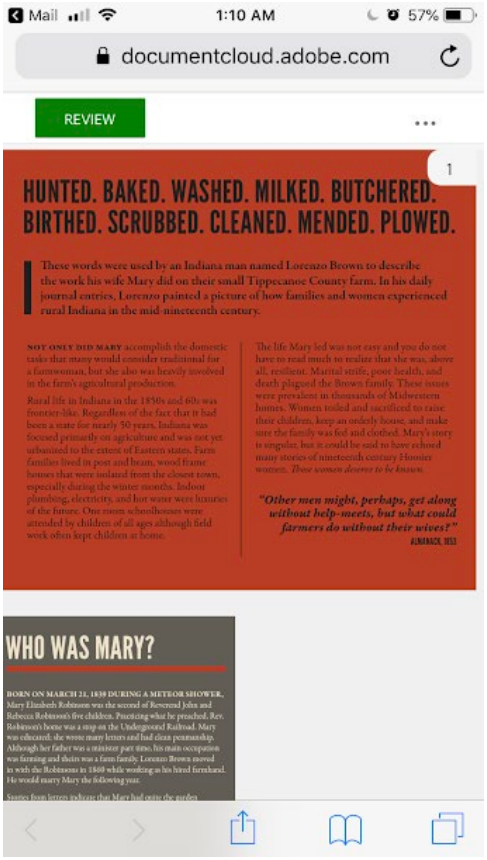


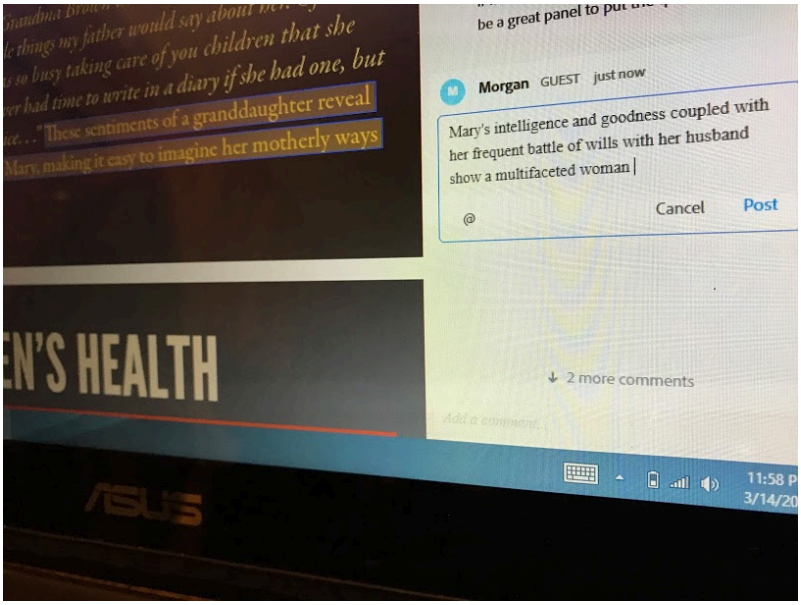
Initial idea sketch for the exhibit.





Two further drafts of layout after identifying size, sections, photos, and color schemes.

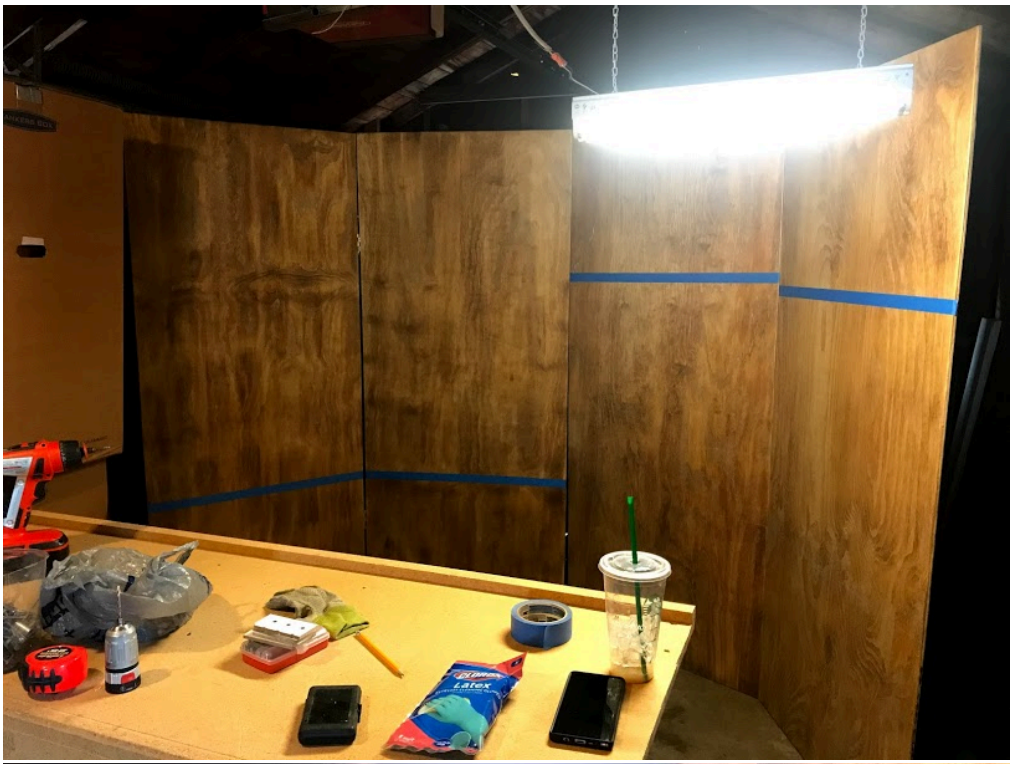




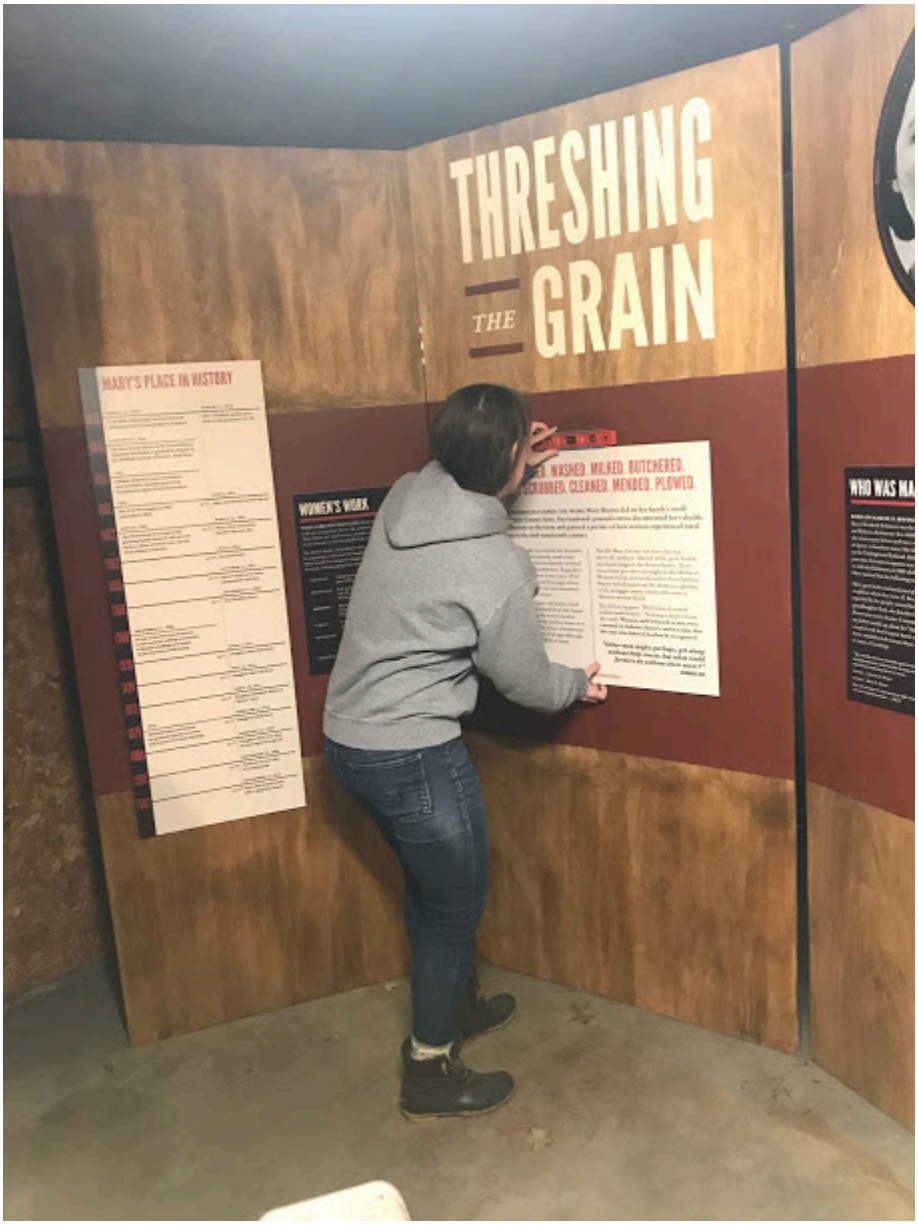
The process of editing online in an Adobe document including an early version of the introduction panel. I made extensive edits to my original contents and this allowed Anderson to see them in real time and mark when edits had been made.

Early draft of a poster from Marshall County History Museum. March 30th would change to an invite only event for members and the following Saturday I was on hand in period dress from 10:00 am to 4:00 pm to talk to museum visitors.

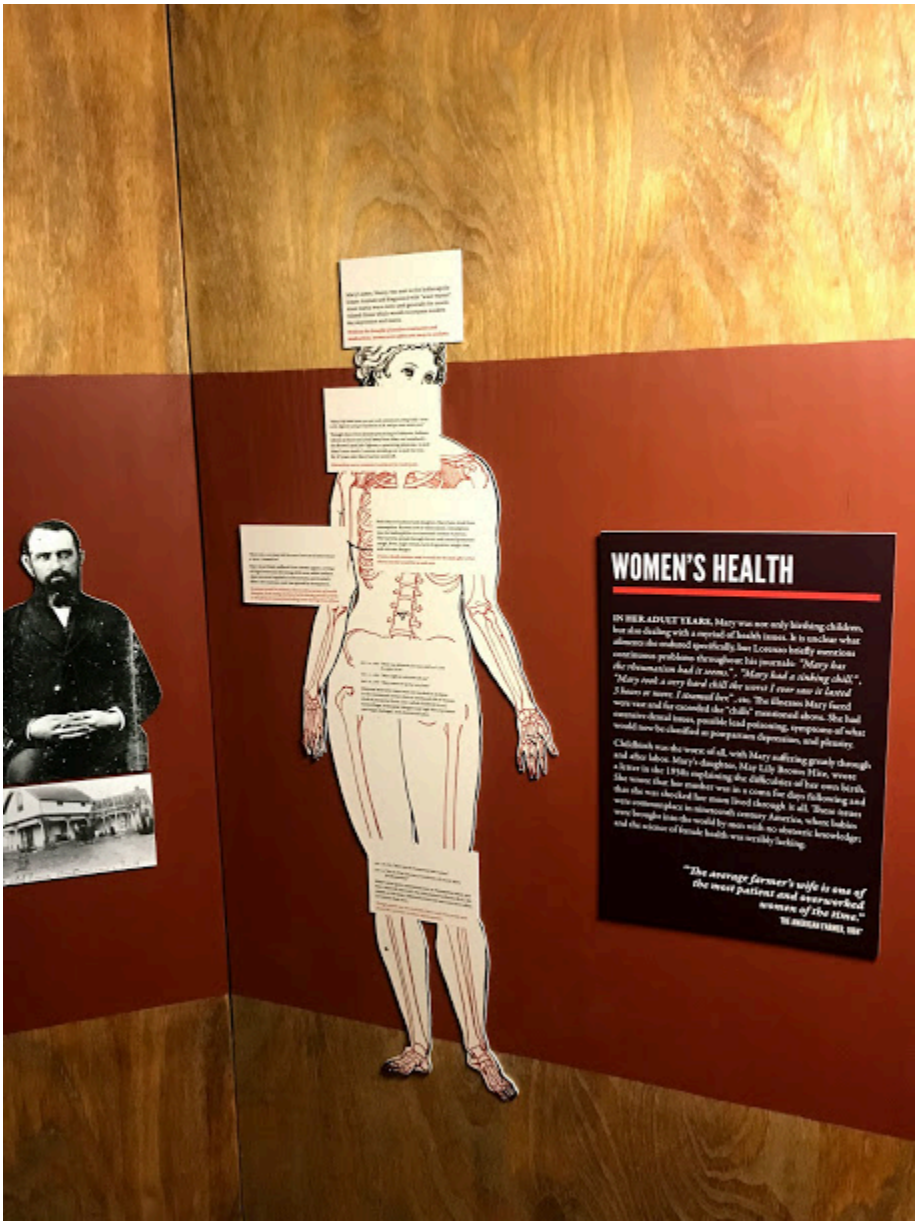
Staining the cut down plywood.



Taping to paint the background. In the second picture you can see the vinyl mask with the title. The paint is drying before removal of the mask.

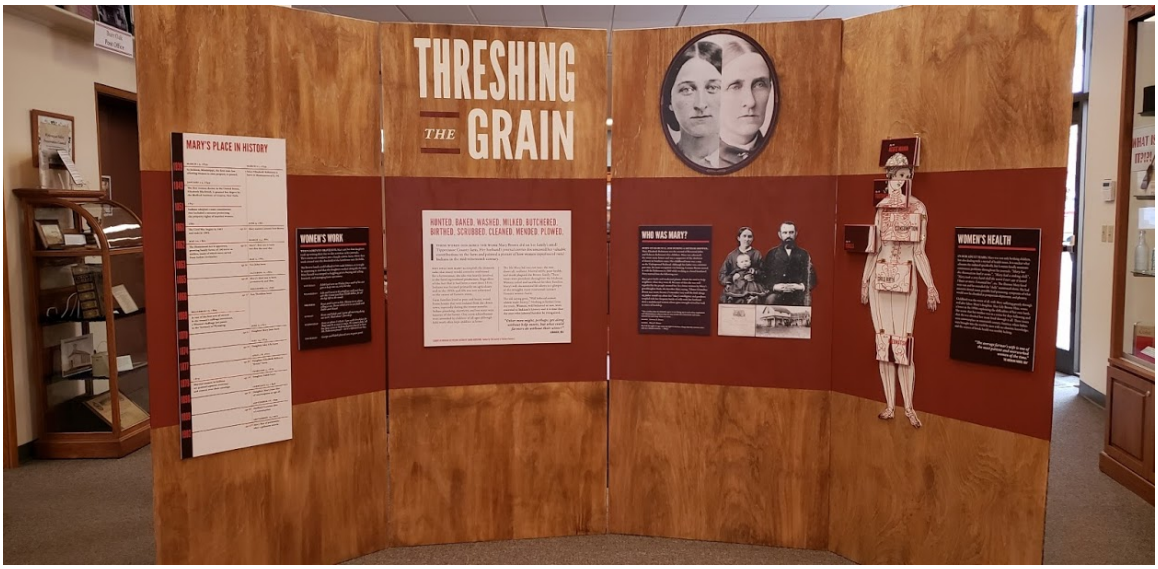


Measuring and leveling for panel placement.

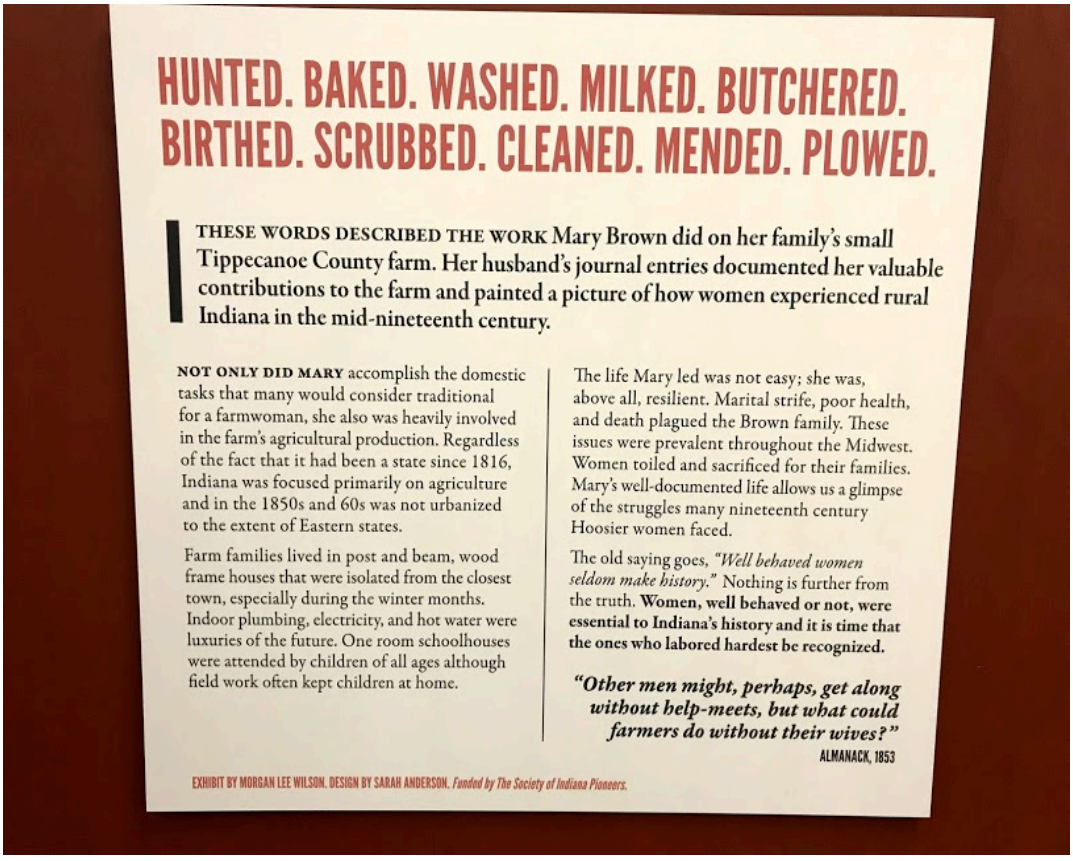


Interactive section with flaps are added.

Attaching each piece of printed panel to 4 x 6 inch plywood cuts with epoxy.

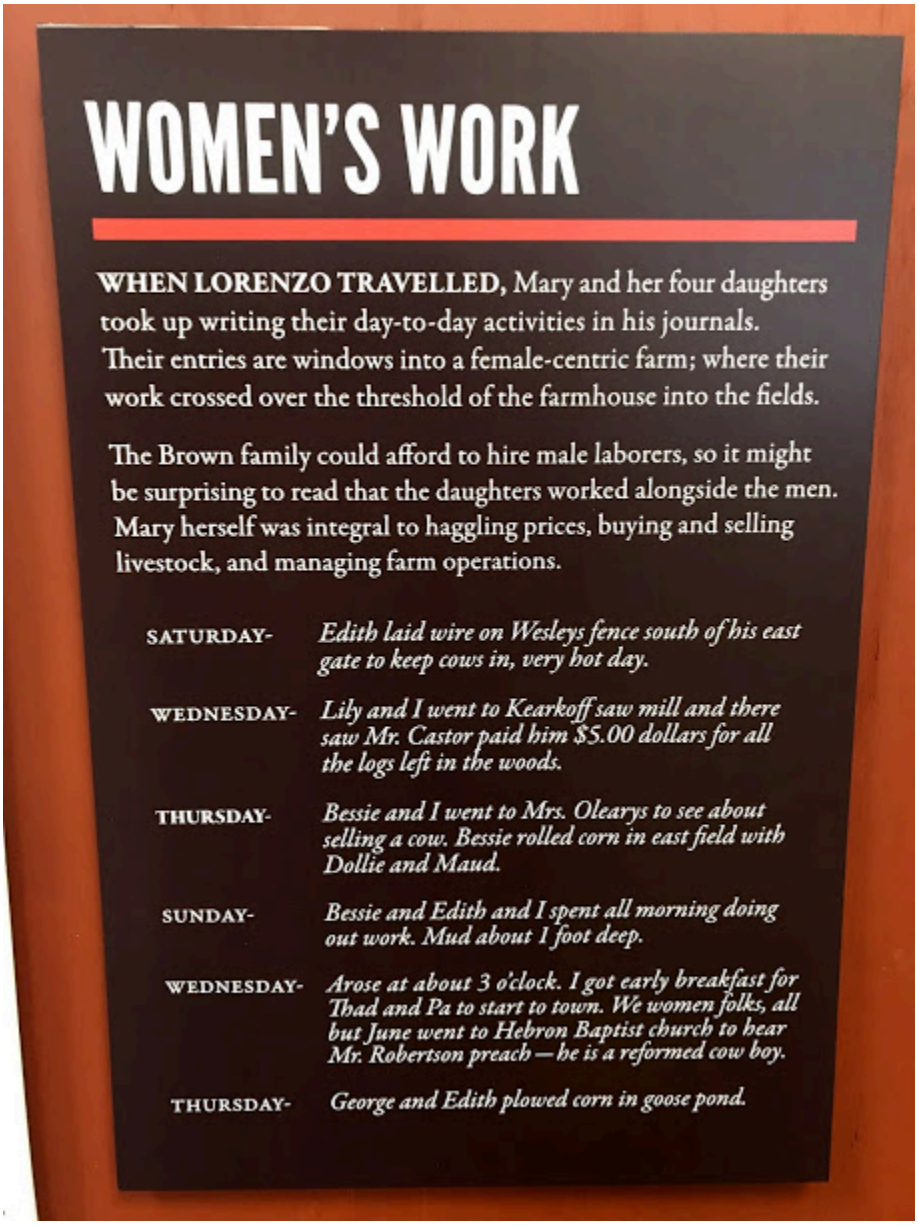


The final product.

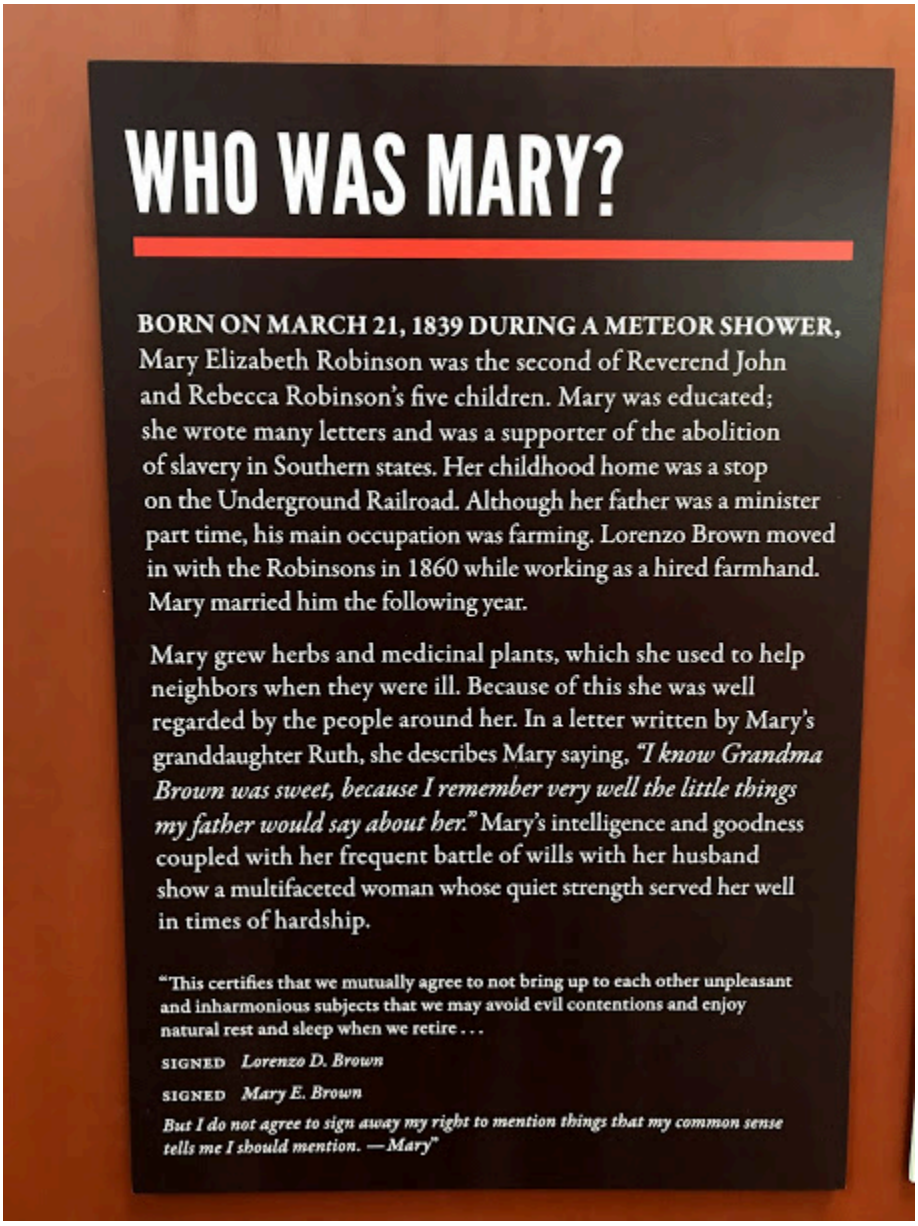


Introduction of Mary with quote and credits. Credit to Indiana Historical Society for the information and pictures were underneath the framed photo of Mary.

Timeline with moments in women's and Indiana's history on the left and Mary's coinciding life on the right.

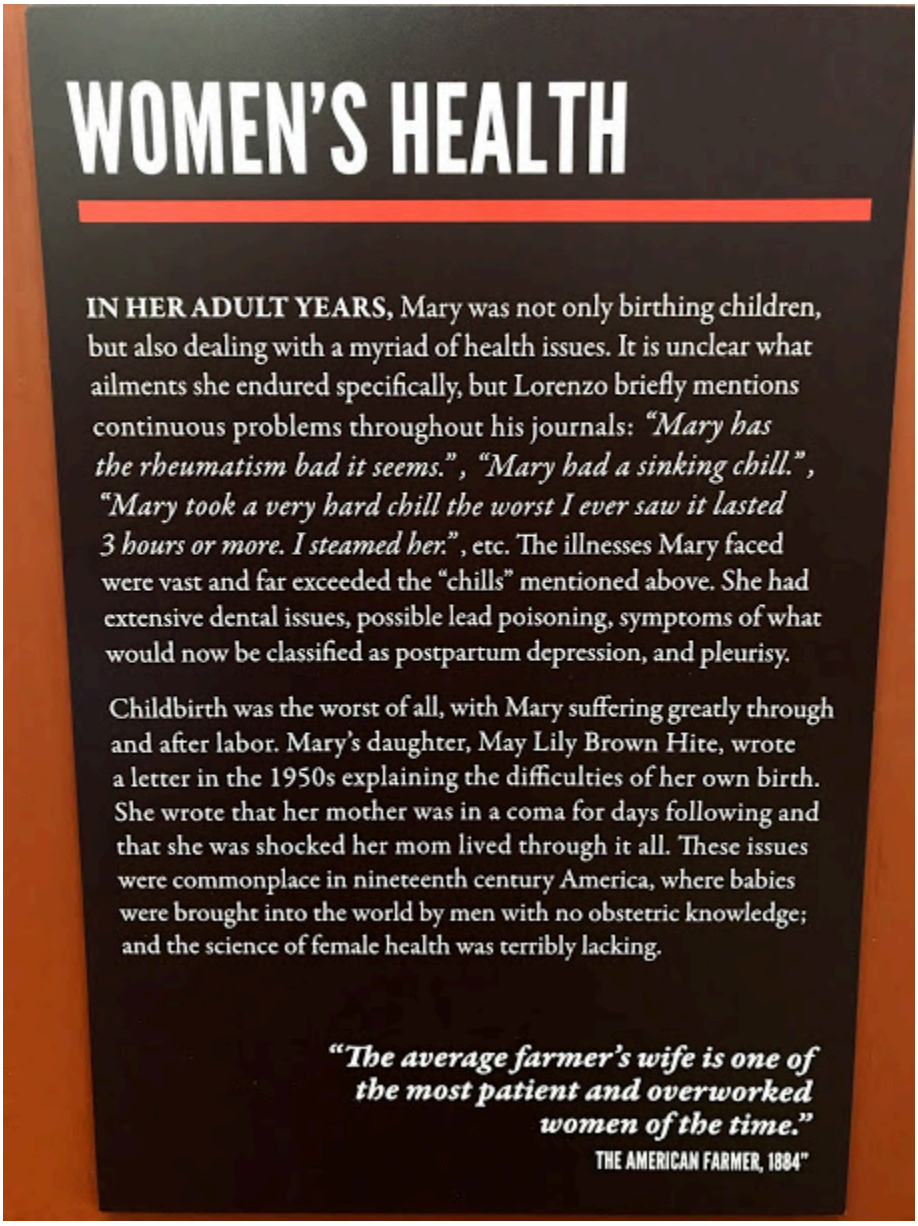


Next to the timeline is this description of the work women completed.

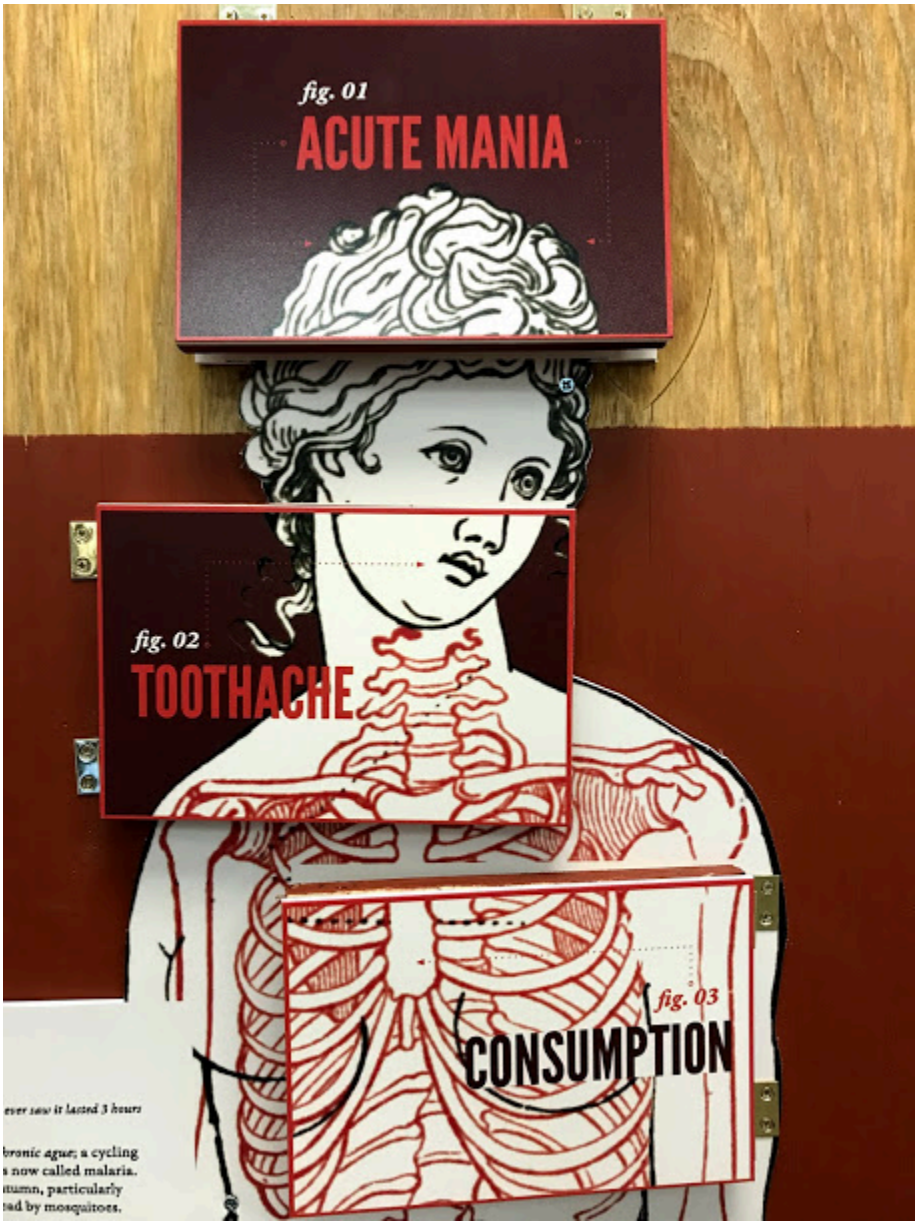


On the third panel is more information on Mary's life and includes the agreement her and Lorenzo signed.

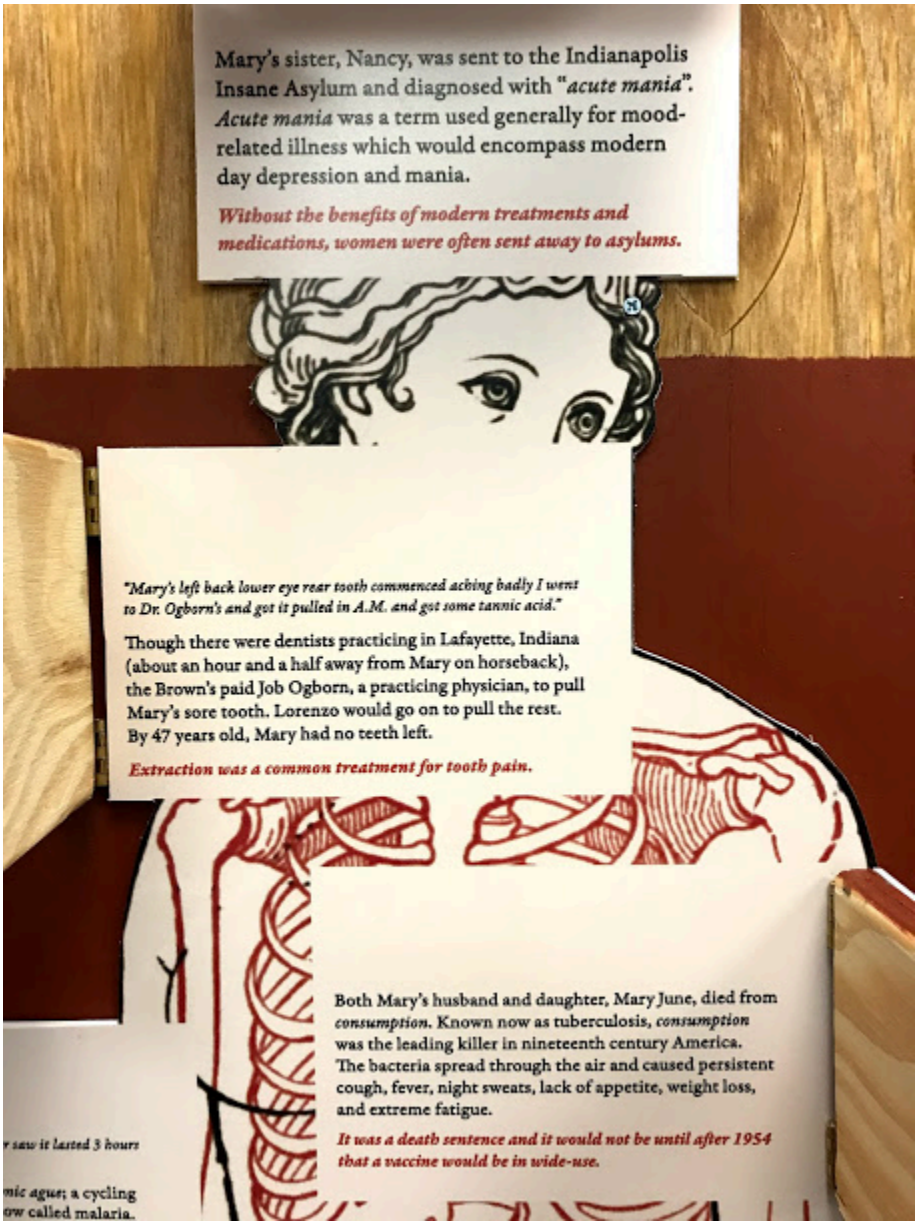
Pictures of Lorenzo and Mary, their home, and marriage certificate.



Final section panel on women's health that discusses some of Mary's ailments.



Panel exteriors.



Information inside the flaps.


fig. 04
CHILLS
fig. 05

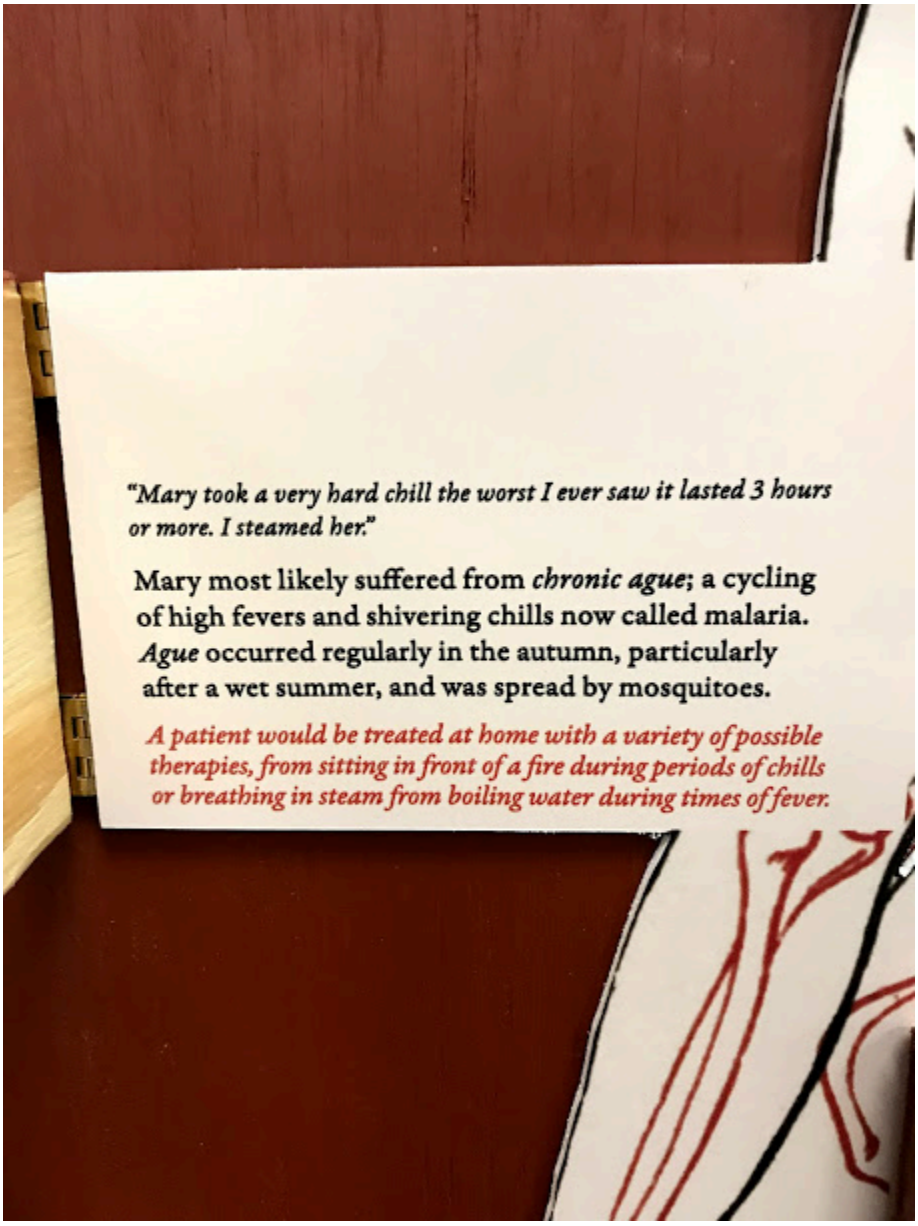

"Mary took a very hard chill the worst I ever saw it lasted 3 hours or more. I steamed her."
Mary most likely suffered from chronic ague; a cycling of high fevers and shivering chills now called malaria. Ague occurred regularly in the autumn, particularly after a wet summer, and was spread by mosquitoes.
A patient would be treated at home with a variety of possible therapies, from sitting in front of a fire during periods of chills or breathing in steam from boiling water during times of fever.


fig. 05
CHILD BIRTH

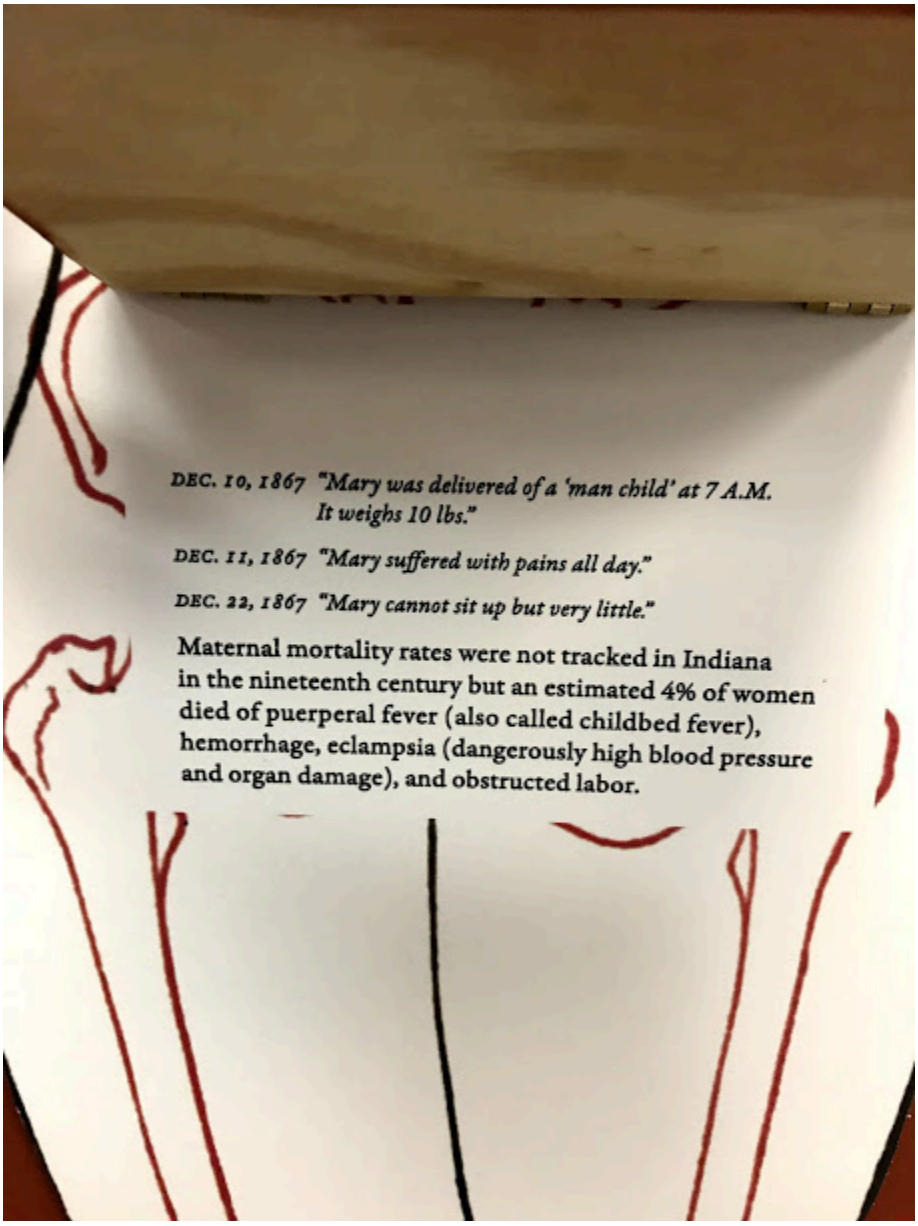
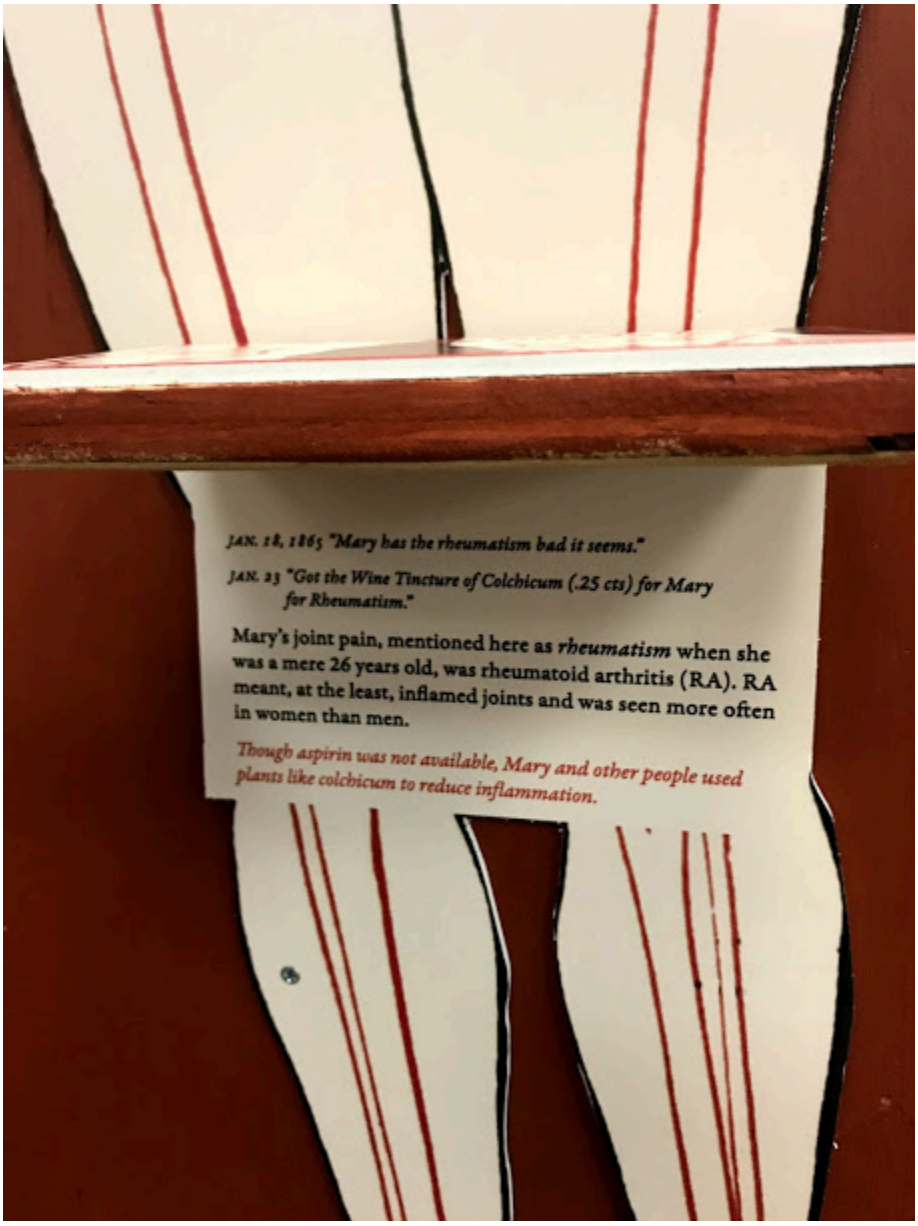

DEC. 10, 1867 "Mary was delivered of a 'man child' at 7 A.M. It weighs 10 lbs."
DEC. 11, 1867 "Mary suffered with pains all day."
DEC. 22, 1867 "Mary cannot sit up but very little."
Maternal mortality rates were not tracked in Indiana in the nineteenth century but an estimated 4% of women died of puerperal fever (also called childbed fever), hemorrhage, eclampsia (dangerously high blood pressure and organ damage), and obstructed labor.


fig. 06
RHEUMATISM


JAN. 18, 1865 "Mary has the rheumatism bad it seems."
JAN. 23 "Got the Wine Tincture of Colchicum (.25 cts) for Mary for Rheumatism."
Mary's joint pain, mentioned here as rheumatism when she was a mere 26 years old, was rheumatoid arthritis (RA). RA meant, at the least, inflamed joints and was seen more often in women than men.
Though aspirin was not available, Mary and other people used plants like colchicum to reduce inflammation.

Talking with a group at Marshall County Historical Museum on April 6, 2019.

Photos from my interactions with guests at Limberlost, including a school group from Ivy Tech, on April 27, 2019.

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Curriculum Vitae
Morgan Lee Wilson

Education

Indiana University- Purdue University, Indianapolis — Indianapolis, IN
MA in Public History

Indiana University South Bend — South Bend, IN
BA in History; European Studies Minor

Experience

Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame — Notre Dame, IN
Architecture Library Specialist — July 2019-Present

- Coordinate and execute the operational activities of a full-service, subject-specific branch library.
- Assist with implementation of the Architecture Library's expanding digital collections and digital portal projects.
- Monitor the security and physical condition of the facility, collections, and equipment.
- Oversee hiring, training, and day-to-day management of student workers.
- Assist in MakerSpace with 3D printing and designing, laser cutting, and student project management.

Snite Museum of Art — Notre Dame, IN
Project based work — June 2018- Present

- Interviewing artists for the YIELD Magazine. Correspond with artists, galleries, and estates to obtain permission to use copyrighted content in the book *A History of Photography at the University of Notre Dame*.

University of Notre Dame — Notre Dame, IN
Academic Coordinator, School of Architecture — June 2018- June 2019

- Provide administrative support to the academic operations of the School's Undergraduate program.

Max H. Fisch Library, Institute for American Thought — Indianapolis, IN
Library Assistant — Summer 2017

- Labeled and arranged library collection. Initiated the transfer of Max Fisch's index slips for the library collection to a digital platform.

Indiana Historical Society — Indianapolis, IN
Exhibitions Intern — August 2017 - June 2018

- Managed an exhibit development process for *Love Always*. Conducted material research and wrote historical content. Assisted with the development, scheduling, management and installation of seven different exhibitions including the Indiana History Train at the Indiana State Fair and *You Are There 1863: Letter Home from Gettysburg*.

Library Collections Intern August 2016 - May 2017

- Processed accessioned materials which included organization and preservation, conservation requests and research/writing for collection guides. Assisted patrons with research and reference questions. Aided in the digitization of collections. Pulling and reshelving materials used by patrons.

Marshall County History Museum Plymouth, IN
Archival Intern Summer 2016

- Worked with PastPerfect to catalogue over 500 clothing items. Assigned catalog numbers, labeled, photographed, and completed data fields for each piece.

University of Notre Dame Notre Dame, IN
June – October 2015
Research Assistant for International Relations theorist Sebastian Rosato

- "Balancing in Neorealism," *International Security* 40, no. 2 (2015): 51-86 (with Joseph Parent).

Research Assistant for 20th Century African historian Paul Ocobock

University of Notre Dame Notre Dame, IN
Undergraduate Program Coordinator, History Dept. August 2014 – July 2016

- Database management for History majors, Honors Program, and Phi Alpha Theta including listservs and website. Provide administrative support to the Undergraduate Director servicing approximately 200 History majors. Develop and promote department activities via social media (Twitter, Facebook, and website) and publish weekly digest for majors.

Awards, Grants, and Fellowships

The Society of Indiana Pioneers Master's Thesis Fellowship, Spring 2018
Elite 50 of IUPUI, Spring 2018
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Director on Executive Board, Graduate and Professional Student Government (GPSG)
Vice-President, Graduate Student History Association
Judge, Indiana's National History Day
Secretary, Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society
Teacher's Assistant for Notre Dame History Course "History Outside of the Classroom"